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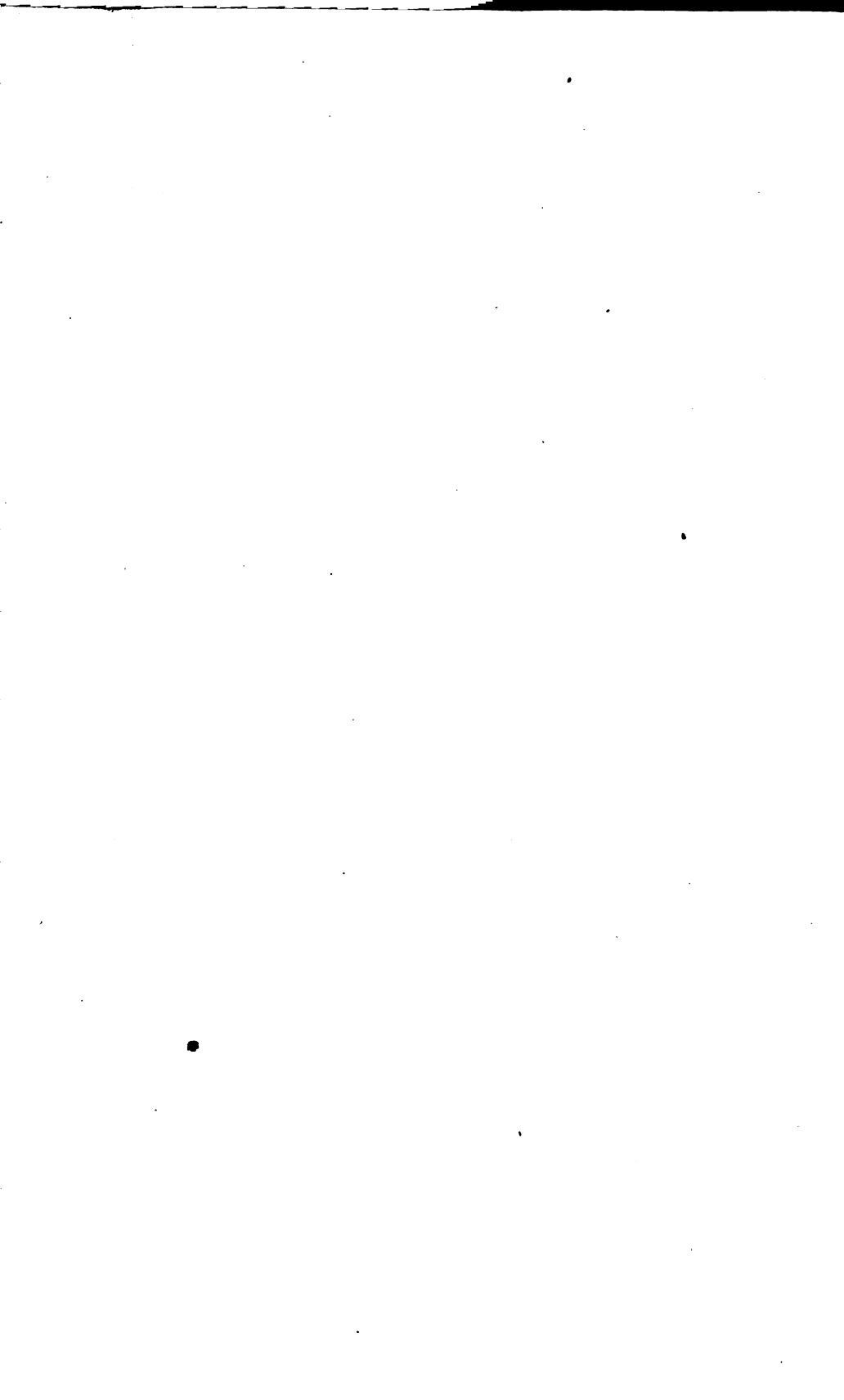
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EDWARD I. SEARS, LL. D.

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*Præclerum est bene facere rei publicæ, etiam bene dicere: haud absurdum est.*

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JUNE, 1868.

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- ART. I.—1. *Annæi Senecæ, tum Rhetoris, tum Philosophi, Opera omnia*, ab ANDREA SCHOTTO. Geneva, 1625.
2. *Caligula, Claudius, and Nero*. DION CASSIUS.
3. *De Senecæ, Vita et Scriptis*. REINHART. Jena, 1817.
4. *Abrégé de la vie et des œuvres de Sénèque*. Paris, 1812.
5. *De la Morale Pratique dans les Lettres de Sénèque*. Par MARTHA. Strasbourg, 1854.
6. *Etude Critique sur les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et Saint Paul*. Par AUBERTIN. Paris, 1857.

It is no mere poetical adage that "the proper study of mankind is man;" no study is more useful or more interesting. There are but few men, however, who will reward our toil; the shallow and thoughtless yield us as little as the barren heath. In order that we may learn from man, he must possess some element of greatness; he must be a thinker before he can teach us to think. In proportion as he possesses thoughts and has the faculty to communicate them, he exercises an influence upon us for good or evil according to the nature of those thoughts. Fortunately it is but rarely the higher class of minds attempt to inculcate evil; men of true genius generally encourage virtue, even when their own practices are vicious.

In order to appreciate this to its full extent, it is necessary to bear in mind that the greatest thinkers are frequently guilty of the gravest errors; and that there is scarcely one of the most illustrious benefactors of mankind whose character would prove entirely faultless on a close examination. It is only the thoughtless, therefore,

who expect any one to be perfect; men of sense admire and value what is good, and attribute the evil which accompanies it to human frailty. Those who pursue the opposite course do justice to none; nor are any more ready to pass a severe judgment on the errors of others than those who commit the gravest errors themselves.

These thoughts have been suggested to us by an examination of the life and writings of Seneca, the Roman philosopher and moralist, than whom none among the illustrious dead has been more rudely assailed by a certain class of modern writers. That the tutor of Nero was guilty of serious errors far be it from us to deny. We have no intention of eulogizing his moral character; nor shall we seek to justify a single fault that may be regarded as proved against him. Our main object, in the present article, is to show that, assuming the worst accusations made against Seneca, by his enemies, to be true, the good he has done by his writings not only entitles him to acquittal at the hands of posterity, but also to a high rank among the instructors of mankind.

There is no period in the life of Lucius Annæus Seneca which does not possess a peculiar interest; born in the second or third year of the Christian era, there are few heroes of romance whose story is more chequered. Both his paternal and maternal ancestors were distinguished for superior intellect and intelligence. His father, Marcus Annæus, as well as himself, was a native of Corduba, in Spain. The former took no part in politics. Belonging, as he did, to the equestrian order, and possessing an ample fortune, he could easily have secured a prominent position in the State, but he preferred to devote his life to literature and oratory. With this view he visited Rome when about the age of twenty, B. C. 41. His first care was to place himself under the tuition of Marillius, the most eminent rhetorician of his time; and he also availed himself of the instructions of Porsius Latro, another rhetorician who disputed the palm of excellence with Marillius. Having studied some three years under these teachers, he returned to Corduba, and married a Spanish lady named Helvia, who was generally admired for her beauty, virtue, and accomplishments.

Marcus Annæus had three sons by this marriage, each of whom became illustrious. The first was Marcus Novatus, the proconsul of Achaia, before whom St. Paul was accused of corrupting the religion of the State, and whose enlightened liberality protected the apostle from

the vindictive bigotry of his enemies ;\* the second was the philosopher, the subject of the present article ; the third, Lucius Annæus Mela, whose greatest honour, according to Tacitus, was to be the father of the poet Lucan, author of the *Pharsalia*, who was also born in Spain.

Marcus Annæus was the author of several works, but only two are extant ; one, *Controversiarum*, lib. X. ; the other *Suasorum liber*. Even these have reached our time only in a mutilated state. As the father and son were warmly attached to each other in life, so their works are now generally found in the same volumes. In the edition now before us, the fragments of the elder Seneca begin the first volume ; although none of them are equal to any of the works of the philosopher. The younger Seneca never forgot that his best instructions were those he received from his father, who, although he could well afford to employ the most eminent tutors, preferred to be his first teacher himself ; and in order to present him an additional incentive to study, he received other young lads into his family to be instructed with him.

We shall see as we proceed how grateful the philosopher was for this affectionate solicitude. When a child, Seneca was so delicate and feeble that few believed he could live, but the assiduous care of his mother and paternal aunt saved him. Nor did he merely owe the preservation of his life to these good women ; he always admitted that he was indebted to them for the best precepts to be found in his ethics. He also tells us, that when in adversity, he was often prevented from committing suicide, by his affection for his parents, knowing that his death would overwhelm them with grief. But thoroughly educated as Marcus Annæus was, he would not allow his son to rely on his instructions alone ; he placed him, in turn, under the tuition of Sextius and Attalus ; the philosopher himself bears interesting testimony to the fact. "While I was yet a child," he says, "I sat at the school of Sotion."

Seneca confined himself to no sect in philosophy, but studied the doctrines of all, although he always avowed a preference for those of the Stoics. His favourite studies were the works of Metronax, Fabianus Papirius, and Demetrius, the cynic. Scarcely any writers or thinkers differed more from each other than these ; but Seneca took delight in comparing their precepts and dogmas, adopting such

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\* Etude critique sur les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et St. Paul.

as he approved, and rejecting such as seemed absurd or chimerical, and whatever may be said of his conduct in after life, and especially when he was the tutor and adviser of Nero, it is certain that in his youth his practices were in accordance with his precepts. He tells us that he had not heard the lectures of Sotion, the Pythagorean, more than two or three times, before he determined to discontinue the use of animal food. We are not informed whether he experienced any diminution of physical strength from the change ; but he writes on the subject to his friend Lucilius : "My soul has become lighter and more agile."\*

That his body became somewhat lighter, also, we may infer from the course pursued by his father, who blamed him severely for adopting extreme views, and reminded him of many illustrious men who were not the less wise, or the less virtuous, for having used animal food in moderation. In order to strengthen this argument, Marcus Annæus reminded his son of the edict recently issued by Tiberius, expelling the Jews and Egyptians from Rome on account of their religion, one of the chief characteristics of which was abstinence from certain kinds of animal food. Young Seneca had at this time, become so much attached to Rome, that the idea of having to leave it frightened him. He resumed the use of animal food ; but it is certain that he retained a dislike to it until the day of his death. Even when he had more wealth than perhaps any other private citizen, it is admitted by his enemies that he was always frugal in his mode of living.

His father was not willing that he should devote himself wholly to philosophy ; he told him that it was not for this purpose he had taken so much pains in having him instructed in oratory. Upon the other hand young Seneca yearned to be a philosopher of the first rank ; but he finally yielded to the wishes of his father, and studied law. He soon became distinguished as an advocate ; although we have no reason to believe that he was an orator of the first class, many facts related by his contemporaries show that few of his time excelled him in eloquence. It is well known that Caligula had great pretensions to the persuasive art, and that none pleased him better than those who compared him to Cicero. None deny that the tyrant was a fluent and elegant speaker ;

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\* Ep. ad Lucil. cviii.

and all admit that he was jealous of the oratoric fame of Seneca. The fact is recorded by Seutonius; but he says that the emperor sought no other weapon against his rival, than a disdainful raillery, such as the following: "His harangues," said Caligula, "are but academic morsels; they are but sand without lime." That the emperor tried to disparage his oratory in this manner is highly probable; but that his jealousy led him no further is denied by almost every other biographer who takes any notice of the circumstance. Thus for example, Dio Cassius informs us, that such was the envy of Caligula, on having heard Seneca plead an important case before the senate, that he resolved to put him to death, and that he spared him only at the earnest request of one of his concubines, who assured him that the fatal disease, under which all knew he laboured,\* would kill him soon, adding that it was more judicious to allow him to die of phthisis than to put to death one who could not be accused of any capital offence.

Whether the tyrant was induced to spare his life on this account or not, it is certain that the health of Seneca was very precarious at this period. He suffered severely from hectic fever, which made him almost a skeleton. In describing his condition to his mother some time subsequently, he says: "More than once I had the temptation to put an end to my days. The thought of my old father, who could not support such a blow, restrained me. I commanded myself to live. Sometimes it requires courage to support even life."†

It seems that, whatever resolution was formed by Caligula, Seneca thought it best to retire from public life for some time. He asked permission from the emperor to travel, knowing that the latter would be gratified at his departure, and still more gratified if he thought he would never return. Be this as it may, he soon set out for Egypt, where his maternal uncle was prefect. His chief object was to learn all he could in a country where the most eminent of the Greek philosophers had so far extended the sphere of their knowledge; and it is sufficiently evident from his writings that he was a close observer and zealous investigator during his stay in Egypt. It does not appear that he wrote any work while in that country, but he collected a large mass of materials, which

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\* Ep. lxxviii.

† Cons. ad Helviam, xvii.

he afterwards turned to good account in his works on Superstition and Earthquakes, and in his *Questiones Naturales*; although his work on Superstition is known at the present day only by some quotations made from it by St. Augustin, and by a brief mention of it by Tertullian.

Soon after his return to Rome, his friends obtained of him the office of quæstor; but he was not destined to enjoy it long. Caligula had died during his absence; had he lived longer Seneca would have travelled farther. He had intended visiting India; indeed, some think that he did visit that country; but there is no other proof of the fact than that Pliny, the naturalist, tells us that Seneca had written a memoir on India.\*

Whether he visited India or not, he expected to be treated favourably by Claudius; but that emperor did not occupy the throne more than a few months, when the philosopher was arrested and sent into exile. Different reasons are assigned for his banishment. It is insinuated by Dio Cassius that he was implicated in the charge of adultery made by Messalina, one of his bitterest enemies, against Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. Whether he was guilty or not of being one of the paramours of Julia, it must be admitted that he was rather licentious in his morals from his youth up to this time; indeed, he does not deny the fact himself, but frankly confesses, that could he have regulated his practices in accordance with his precepts, his ethics would have exercised a much more powerful influence on his contemporaries than they did.†

He was in his forty-first year when he was thus banished to Corsica; but even Ovid did not grieve more profoundly for being exiled from Rome. During the first two years of his banishment he tried to conceal his grief, hoping from day to day that his friends would be able to procure him his liberty; but he was doomed to hope in vain for eight years. His letter, written to his mother towards the close of the first year of his exile,‡ is one of the finest of his productions. He tries to console her, not only under the misfortune that had befallen her in his banishment, but also under all her other sorrows. With this view, he undertakes to demonstrate to her that he had lost nothing, that disgrace had cast him down

\* Seneca etiam apud nos tentata Indiæ commentatione septuaginta omnes ejus prodidit gentes duodeviginta centumque.—*Hist. Nat.*, vi., 17.

† Vide *De Vita Beata*, c. xviii.

‡ De Consolatione ad Helviam Matrem.

without discouraging him, and that exile, poverty, and ignominy are not evils; but his subsequent conduct proved but too plainly that his feelings were very different from his expressions.

His course now was remarkably similar in some important respects, to that pursued under somewhat similar circumstances by Lord Bacon, nearly sixteen centuries later. All our readers are familiar with the gross adulation in which the author of the *Novum Organum* indulged in his disgrace, with the view of influencing the king in his favour. He not only praised the king himself as the greatest of earthly monarchs, comparing him to the Almighty, but he was equally lavish of his eulogies on all whom he knew to be his majesty's favourites. It is generally admitted by his biographers, that he disgraced himself more by this conduct, than even by that for which he was condemned by the Parliament, assuming that he was really guilty of having accepted bribes while presiding on the bench; yet his was but a slight meanness, compared to that of Seneca at this crisis.

One letter of the Roman philosopher to Polybius, the freedman of Claudius, entitled *De Consolatione ad Polybium*, has scarcely a parallel in its kind. In this, he throws himself in the dust at the feet of the freedman, lauding him to the skies, declaring that the world can only boast of one greater man—that one being Claudius. As for the latter, there is no noble quality which he does not possess; the admiration of Seneca for his virtues and character is unbounded; his devotion to him is equally great; he wishes to adore him in all humility, but above all things he invokes his *divine* clemency.\*

The ostensible object of this communication to Polybius was to console him on the death of his brother; what the real object was, need not be mentioned any further than that the bereaved Polybius happened to be the chief favourite of Claudius at this time, and that it was hoped, therefore, the emperor would have an opportunity of seeing how profoundly he was admired and venerated by the man who perhaps above all others had most reason

\* Eriperes illi bonam opinionem? Solidior est hæc apud eum, ut à te quoque ipsa concuti posset. Eriperes bonam valetudinem? Sciebas animum ejus liberalibus disciplinis quibus non innutritus tantum sed innatus est. \* \* Longissimum illi ævum ingenii fama promissit. Id ejit ipse a meliore sui parte duraret, et compositis eloquentiæ preclaris operibus à mortalitate se vindicaret, &c.—*Cons. ad Pol., c. xxi.*



to detest him. This *Consolatio* is so full of human weakness, not to give it a harsher name, that several of the biographers of Seneca, including Diderot and Ruhkopf, have denied its authenticity. But this is of no use, the proofs of its genuineness are too strong. There is not a passage in it which is not marked by the peculiar characteristics of Seneca's style. The mode of reasoning throughout, the moral precepts by which every argument is enforced, as well as the eulogies both on the freedman and the emperor, all very clearly point to Seneca as the author.

The most probable view of the work is that given by Justus Lipsius, who says that it was not intended for publication, and that it was by an indiscretion on the part of one of the author's friends it was made public. This opinion is considerably strengthened by the fact, that nearly twenty chapters of the beginning of the *Consolatio* are wanting. Doubtless the indiscreet friend suppressed the part which he thought would reflect most discredit on the writer; and yet it is difficult to conceive any grosser flatteries than those contained in the part that has come down to us.

At the same time we must not consider Seneca as having acted foolishly, although he certainly acted unworthily. The morality of his adulations is, indeed, not good, yet there is a certain kind of philosophy in them. As a means to the end he sought, they were probably the most potent he could have used. It is true that they had not an immediate effect; nearly five years had intervened from the writing of the *Consolatio* until the recall of the author from exile; but it is more than probable that Polybius was in no hurry to serve the cause of one who might become his rival, by making the emperor familiar with the contents of a communication which was not addressed to his majesty. It is true that Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, has generally received the credit of having caused the liberation of Seneca; but this is rather inconsistent with the cause assigned for his exile. If he was banished from Rome, and forbidden to leave the island of Corsica, for having been an accomplice in the adultery of Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, it was not likely that Agrippina, bold as she undoubtedly was, would signalize her nuptials with Claudius by requesting the recall of one banished for such an offence, no matter how viciously inclined she was herself. Still more unlikely was it that she would bring him into the

palace so soon after her marriage, and make him the tutor of her son, Nero.

It is much more rational to believe that the flatteries of Seneca, gross and absurd as they were, had the desired effect on Claudius; for the philosopher had been made prætor and admitted into the senate, by the emperor, before he was brought to the palace as the tutor of Nero. Seneca could then reply somewhat as follows to those who sneered at his meanness in almost worshipping Claudius as a deity, in return for his having banished him as a criminal: There would have been no use in addressing Claudius in the language of reason and moderation. It was only by mocking him to his face that he could be influenced. I mocked him accordingly, and my mockery produced the desired effect in due time. Had I told Claudius what he really was, instead of what no mortal can ever be, I would still, at this day, have continued to languish in the swamps of Corsica.

This is in entire accordance with his satire in prose and verse on the death of Claudius, entitled, *Ἀποκολοκύνθωσις* ("The Metamorphosis into a Gourd");\* in which he ridicules him quite as much as he praised him in his *Consolatio ad Polybium*. Indeed, it would be difficult to decide which production does most discredit to the philosopher. The first had an object; the author yearned to return to Rome; but the second had none, except the author wished to gratify Agrippina, by showing that, in poisoning her husband and uncle, she only committed an act for which all ought to commend rather than censure her. Considered in any light, such an attack on the murdered dead was not merely in bad taste; it was base—nearly if not quite as much so, as the murder, which made it safe to make it. Accordingly its authenticity is denied by some of the biographers of Seneca, like that of the *Consolatio ad Polybium*. But one as well as the other bears the obvious impress of Seneca's style, it would be much easier to prove that he is not the author of the *Questiones Naturales*, *De Ira*, and *De Clementia*, than of this bitter satire on the poisoned Claudius. A writer may be so closely imitated, however, that there would be some reason in denying the authenticity of the *Apocolocyntosis*, if Seneca had done nothing else deserving of censure; but, unfortunately, this cannot be pretended.

\* This curious production commences as follows:—*Quid actum sit in coelo ante diem tertium eidus octobris, anno novo, initio felicissimi, volo memoriæ tradere.—Claudii Cæsoris Apocol.*

But Seneca had another literary task to perform on the death of Claudius before the satire. The emperor being dead, usage required that his successor should do honour to his memory. Accordingly Seneca prepared a funeral oration for Nero, which regarded Claudius as a new divinity, and which, according to Tacitus, it was impossible to hear without laughing, so gross were its praises of the numerous virtues of the deceased emperor.\*

His warmest admirers are forced to admit that he committed more than one fatal error ; that in more than one instance he pursued a course that flatly contradicted those moral precepts, the essential importance of which he took so much pains to impress on others. It is beyond question that he struggled hard to restrain the vicious propensities of Nero ; and he was equally anxious to curb the ambition of his mother, Agrippina. His advice to both was undoubtedly good ; at the same time he was far too ready to gratify the worst wishes of each. This is but too evident from the testimony of Tacitus, who had no disposition to misrepresent Seneca. Indeed, the philosopher himself does not deny that there was a vast difference between his preaching and his practice. "I am not a sage," he was wont to say, "nor shall I ever be one. It is not *of myself* I speak when I write, *but of virtue* ; and when I bring the vices of individuals to trial, I will commence with my own. As soon as I can, I will live as it is proper to live."†

The first year of Nero's rule was highly creditable to pupil and tutor. All classes had begun to regard the young emperor as destined to restore the ancient greatness of Rome. Seneca had written several works for the express purpose of teaching his pupil to govern with moderation and clemency ; he also wrote an oration for him, which gave universal satisfaction. It was delivered by the new emperor on his first appearance in the senate ; there was nothing good which a great people had a right to expect from their sovereign which it did not promise in the blindest and most condescending language. Such was the effect of this harangue, according to Dio Cassius, that it was ordered by a unanimous vote of the senate to be engraven on a pillar of solid silver, and to be publicly read every year when the consuls entered on their office.

It is easy to understand that the success of this oration gave Seneca a great ascendancy over Nero, and he re-

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\* Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii., 3.

† De Vita Beata ch. xviii.

solved to maintain it without much scruple as to the means. Well aware of the licentious habits of the young emperor, he thought he could not please him better, or more effectually curb his lawless passions, than by procuring him a beautiful mistress. With this view he engaged the services of his friend, Annæus Serenus, who managed the task confided to him in a manner highly satisfactory both to Nero and Seneca. But the indignation of Agrippina at finding another preferred to herself knew no bounds; she reproached Seneca in the presence of the emperor. But if she had any ascendancy over her son ever afterward, it was but of brief duration. The former patroness of the philosopher was now his worst enemy; and, if we are to judge from the course of events, her hatred was reciprocated by Seneca.

So stung was Agrippina with jealousy, that she had the rashness to threaten Nero with annulling what she had done in his favour, and nominating Britannicus as the lawful heir of Claudius. This proved the death-warrant of the unfortunate Britannicus, who, in a few days after, was poisoned at his table. It may be that Seneca could not have prevented the horrible fratricide; but what is unaccountable is, that so severe a moralist could continue to reside at a court which was disgraced almost daily with the worst species of vice and crime. If we believe his contemporaries, he had strong inducements to retain his ascendancy over Nero as long as possible. He is accused of being inordinately fond of money and riches, notwithstanding his fine precepts in favour of poverty; and that he acquired enormous wealth is beyond question. Still he continued to be popular, until one of his enemies denounced him publicly. That P. Suillius, who accused him, was himself a transgressor, and was, doubtless, influenced by vindictive motives, did not save the philosopher from public odium when that person asked him, "By what wisdom, by what precepts of philosophy, he had, during a four years' intimacy with an emperor, amassed a fortune of three hundred million sesterii? at Rome he was a hunter after testamentary gifts—an ensnarer of those who were childless, &c."\* These were serious charges against the philosopher-prime-minister. No doubt they were exaggerated at worst, but Seneca did not evince much wisdom in the manner in which he

\* Qua sapentia, quibus philosophorum præceptis, intra quadriennium regis amicitia ter millies sestertium paravisset? Roma testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi.—Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii., 42.

sought to vindicate himself. He immediately had his accuser arrested and sent into exile; the son of Lucillius, wishing to share the captivity of his father, declared himself an accomplice in his crime, but he was not suffered to accompany him. From this day forth Seneca was falling in public estimation, although there were many still who believed that it was impossible for him to be guilty of the conduct attributed to him. This state of feeling, however, did not last long; the circumstances attending the death of Agrippina were such that all regarded Seneca as implicated in her assassination. It is probable that he could not have saved her, but he could at least have protested against the murder; if his protest was not attended to, he could have withdrawn, although not without incurring much danger.

The history of this matricide is so well known to every intelligent person, that it would be superfluous to do more than allude to it here. There is no crime in all history that shows more baseness. In commenting on the connection of Seneca and his colleague, Burrhus, with it as accomplices, Tacitus remarks that one cannot say whether they were already in the secret. Both remained silent a long time, when the proposition was made to them. Finally, Seneca turned towards Burrhus and asked if the order had been given to the soldiers to kill Agrippina; Burrhus replied that the Prætorian guard would hesitate to meddle with the daughter of Germanicus. Anicetus, less scrupulous, undertook to commit the deed.\* Nero fled to Naples, whence he addressed a letter to the senate, in which he enumerated several attempts of his mother to dethrone him and seize on the government; adding, that failing in her last attempt, she committed suicide, and that her doing so was a benefit to the State.

All who have investigated the subject attribute the authorship of this letter to Seneca; and it is impossible to deny the fact. "It was no longer against Nero the public murmured," says Tacitus, "but against the barbarity of Seneca, who sought to justify such a crime."† But he did not long survive it himself. Agrippina was not long dead when his colleague Burrhus also died, rather suddenly, the general impression being that he was poisoned by his master. This, combined with the public odium against himself, made Seneca wish to retire into private life; and he asked permission from Nero to do so, offering at the

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\* Tac., *Ann.* xiv., 3.

† *Ann.*, xiv., 11.

same time to deliver up all his wealth. But the tyrant was not done with him yet. He replied very graciously, protesting that it was impossible for him to deprive himself of the counsel of such a friend. The philosopher was forced to yield, but thenceforward he absented himself as much as possible, under one pretext or another, and while absent he devoted himself to agriculture, subsisting chiefly on wild fruits, and drinking but the water which he took with his own hands from the brook.

Dio Cassius thinks that it was not exclusively for the sake of temperance and frugality that he pursued this course, but through fear; an opinion which is sustained by Tacitus, who twice remarks that Nero had attempted to poison Seneca, but failed.\* But the conspiracy of Piso afforded the tyrant a pretext to dispose of him in another way; the philosopher having been accused of complicity in the attempt of Piso, Nero sent a tribune to his country residence with a troop of soldiers, ordering him to put himself to death. Tacitus gives a most touching account of his last moments. He tells us that the friends which surrounded Seneca burst into tears, and that without showing any sign of alarm, he tried to cheer them by the lessons of philosophy, remarking, that he who had murdered a brother and a mother could not be expected to spare his teacher.†

Whatever were the faults of Seneca, it is certain that he possessed the faculty of laying a strong hold on the affections of those around him. He was over sixty years of age when he married Paulina, a young, beautiful, and noble Roman lady; and no lady of any age could be more tenderly attached to her husband. Seeing her ready to sink down with grief, Seneca begged of her to bear this event with a little more patience for his sake, telling her that now the hour was come wherein he was to show, not by argument and discourse, but by effect, the fruit he had acquired by his studies, and that he really embraced his death not only without grief, but with joy. "Wherefore, my dearest," he added, "do not dishonour it with thy tears, that it may not seem as if thou lovest thyself more than my reputation; moderate thy grief, and comfort thyself in the knowledge thou hast had of me and my actions, leading the remainder of thy life in the same virtuous manner thou hast hitherto done." Paulina proved a true heroine; her name deserves to be

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\* Annales, xv., 45, 60.

† Ann., xv., 62.

ever remembered as an honour to her sex. Her reply to her dying husband is full of magnanimity and tenderness: "No, Seneca; I am not a woman to suffer you to go alone in such a necessity; I will not have you think that the virtuous examples of your life have not yet taught me how to die; and when can I ever do it better or more becomingly, or more to my own desire, than with you? and therefore assure yourself I will go along with you."

Although well convinced of her affection and fidelity, her husband was surprised at her fortitude and courage. "Paulina, I have sufficiently instructed you in what would serve you happily to live; but I see you covet more the honour of dying. In truth, I will not grudge it you, as you are thus resolved; the constancy and resolution in our common end are the same; but the beauty and glory on your part are much greater."\*

The historians inform us that both now agreed to have the veins of their arms opened at the same time by the surgeons. Tacitus says that those of Seneca were so much shrunken with age and abstinence, causing his blood to flow more slowly, that he ordered the veins of his thighs to be opened also; and lest the torments he endured should intimidate his wife, and also to relieve himself from the affliction of seeing her in so sad a condition, after having taken leave of her most affectionately, he entreated that she would suffer herself to be carried to her chamber, which she accordingly did. Finding that all the incisions made on him had only the effect of increasing his sufferings, he ordered his physician to give him a dose of hemlock; this also failed. Finally, he was put into a hot bath; then finding his end approach, he made an address to his friends; and his secretaries continued to write his words as long as he was able to speak. Nero, having been informed of what passed, sent orders in all haste to have the wounds of Paulina bound up; not that he cared for her death, or had any feeling for her more than for her husband; but as her relatives were among the most illustrious and most powerful in Rome, he feared lest her death might cause a revolt against him. Paulina, being already unconscious from loss of blood, could make no resistance; but, though she was prevented from dying, her complexion continued

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\* *Vitæ delinimenta monstraveram tibi tu mortis decus mavis; non invidebo exemplo.*—Tac., *Ann.*, xv., 63.

pale for the few years she survived, and during which she held her husband in honourable memory.\*

Hitherto we have considered Seneca only as a public man. The record we have been able to make of him, as such, is far from being what we should like. But in forming a final judgment of him, different circumstances are to be taken into account. We are bound to remember that even when a mere boy his acquirements and talents were of a character to excite envy; it is certain that when eighteen, few if any Romans of the same age were equally brilliant and learned. He also laboured under the disadvantage of being a foreigner at Rome. It is very true that none were more liberal in this respect than the Romans; they were far more cosmopolitan than the Greeks, or indeed any other people. Still they had their prejudices; they were quite willing to allow foreigners equal rights with themselves; but they regarded it as humiliating to acknowledge even Athenian philosophers as their superiors in learning and genius. And we have seen that the philosopher was not the only member of the Seneca family who was distinguished by superior intellectual endowments; there was not a member of it who did not possess intellectual capacity of a high order. There have been few families of any age that have produced within the same generation three such authors and thinkers as Seneca, the philosopher, Marcus Annæus his father, and Lucan his nephew, all Iberians, born at Corduba, for which they secured a universal recognition as the modern Athens.

Corduba præstantum genetrix fecunda virorum.†

The *Pharsalia* of Lucan, written when he was a mere youth, has been ranked with the noblest epics. It has been compared by eminent critics to the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*. This, indeed, is exaggerated praise; it is far inferior to either, but it contains passages scarcely excelled in spirit, or sublimity, by any similar passages in Homer, or Virgil. Lucan was the author of several other works, including a poem on the burning of Troy, entitled *Catacausmas Iliacus*. Thus while Seneca discoursed eloquently on philosophy and morals, Lucan wrote poems marked with epic grandeur. As already remarked, the Seneca family belonged to the equestrian order and possessed wealth. None of this character could well

\* Tac., *Ans. Ann.*, xv., 64.

† Martiell.



avoid holding office at Rome even in Nero's time ; nor did Lucan form an exception. Nero thought so highly of the young man that he condescended to vie with him in the public games ; the judges chosen to decide the relative merits of the rivals awarded the palm to Lucan, which as many anticipated at the time proved equivalent to the death-warrant of the poet. The tyrant first showed his spite by forbidding Lucan from publishing his poem on the burning of Troy, under pain of immediate banishment. Soon after the conspiracy of Piso was brought to light, Lucan, as well as Seneca, was accused as an accomplice ; and the poet as well as the philosopher was doomed to die. Lucan also caused his veins to be opened ; and Tacitus informs us that while he felt the chill of death extending to his arms and feet, he recited verses in which he had described a wounded soldier dying of the same death. Such was the fate of the nephew of Seneca, in his twenty-seventh year, while he was consul elect for the following year.

Men of this class have always enemies. Young as Lucan was, his character was also assailed with the greatest bitterness. Notwithstanding the heroic manner in which he died, he was accused of the basest cowardice. It was said of him, that in order to evade the charge of treason made against him, he denounced his own mother Acilia. A still worse course, if such was possible, was pursued against Seneca. That the philosopher was guilty of many errors cannot be denied ; but it is certain that many were attributed to him which he never committed, and that the faults of which he was really guilty were grossly exaggerated. Had it been otherwise the severest and most impartial of the Roman satirists would have spoken of him in very different language from that which he applies to him in several of his satires. But there is not a word in Juvenal which implies that the poet regarded the philosopher as a bad man. Alluding to the rumour that the conspirators, headed by Piso, were to have made Seneca emperor, Juvenal maintains in his eighth satire that if the people had been allowed the uncontrolled exercise of their votes, none would have been found so abandoned as not to have preferred Seneca to Nero.

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam  
Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam preferre Neroni.

Even Quintilian, one of the most impartial of all the Roman writers whose works have reached us, was un-

doubtedly jealous of his glory; this we will show in the proper place, but it will be seen at the same time that, however unfriendly the feelings of the critic may be, he cannot deny that the works of the philosopher possessed the elements of true greatness.

Before entering into any discussion of the philosophy or ethics of Seneca, it may be well to take a cursory glance at such of his works as have come down to us. The one generally supposed to have been first written is that on Anger.\* If this opinion be correct, the work was produced in the time of Caligula, when the author was young and inexperienced; whereas it is one of the best written of all his productions, and it is inferior to none in its reasoning. The letters of "Consolation," addressed to Polybius, to Marcia, and to Helvia, his mother, have already been alluded to, and compared with each other. The communications to the two ladies, especially that to the author's mother, are highly creditable in every sense. Both are at once eloquent and touching, and such is the piety with which they are imbued, that they might well be mistaken for some of the epistles of the early Christians. Those who read them would find it difficult to believe that the Consolation to Polybius could possibly have emanated from the same mind, were it not that the evidence of their common paternity is unfortunately but too clear. The work "On Providence"† is but fragmentary. It is not a regular treatise, but it is much more valuable than many such. The object of it is to justify Providence against the cavils and murmurs of those who complain that the good often suffer more in this world than the wicked. The reasoning of the philosopher in vindication of Divine justice is clear and convincing. Pope has borrowed from it some of the finest thoughts in his "Essay on Man;" nor is this the only work of Seneca from which the same poet and many other modern moralists have drawn inspiration. But "De Providentia" has one serious fault; it concludes by recommending suicide to the unfortunate as their surest refuge from worldly ills, as if the author wished to show that, notwithstanding the truly Christian spirit of his precepts, he is not a disciple of Christ. In several of his works we find similar inconsistencies and contrasts; through several pages he reasons like a pious and orthodox Christian, but he too frequently

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\* De Ira.

† De Providentia, sive quare bonis viris mala accidunt, cum sit Providentia.

concludes like a Pagan. In his essay on "Tranquillity of Mind," \* Seneca shows his friend Annæus Serenus how he is to cure himself of the disquietude and disgust of life of which he complains.

There is scarcely one of the philosophical sects of his time whose precepts are not adopted by Seneca, according as he thinks they are good and useful to society ; but, as we have already remarked, his chief leaning is towards the Stoics. This is fully illustrated in his dissertation "On the Firmness of the Sage ; or, Proof that the wise man can suffer no injury." † When the author was in exile, and on many other occasions, it was sufficiently evident that he suffered injury ; it was because he felt injured that he had his enemy and traducer, Suilius, sent into exile ; but perhaps the philosopher did not claim to be wise at this time.

The treatise "On Clemency," ‡ addressed to Nero, contains some excellent passages, but also some contradictions. It shows that while the author wished to give his pupil good advice, he deemed it prudent, at the same time, to flatter his vanity ; its main object, however, is to show that princes should govern with mildness and moderation. Because a considerable part of the work is lost, some of those who are disposed to accept the statements of the author's enemies, allege that Macchiavelli borrowed some of the odious maxims of his "Prince" from this work ; but whatever objections may be made to certain passages in the part which remains, it will be seen that it contains sufficient to prove that the philosopher could have given no bad advice in it without stultifying himself.

Another good essay is that "On the Shortness of Life." § It is addressed to Paulinus, the father of his second wife, the beautiful and heroic Paulina, whose noble conduct at the death of her husband we have described above. In this we have another of the contradictions of Seneca ; for although he advises Serenus to seek public employments as a means of rendering life attractive to him instead of being a burden, he recommends Paulinus to retire from public life, resigning his position as Præfectus Annonæ for the same purpose.

Seneca has been much censured for inconsistencies of this kind, but without sufficient reason. Why should not

\* De Animi tranquillitate.

† De Constantia sapientis, sive quod in sapientem non cadit injuria.

‡ De Clementia.

§ De Brevitate Vitæ.

philosophers have the privilege of changing their minds as well as meaner mortals? What do they study for? Is it not to become wiser from day to day? If they do become wiser, why should they not be permitted to alter their views when they find that their first impressions were erroneous? What would be said of the astronomer, who, having once mistaken a comet for a planet, must needs adhere to his old theory lest he might be accused of inconsistency or blundering, although his improved optical instruments, aided by more accurate calculations, convince him that his former theory was wrong? Seneca was a severe student through life; when he was most occupied at the court of Nero; while those who were obnoxious to the tyrant were falling almost daily by poison or the dagger, the philosopher was adding more or less to his stock of knowledge; and, in proportion as he did so, he changed his mind.

The essay "On a Happy Life,"\* is addressed to the author's brother, Gallio, who was proconsul of Achia, and behaved with such enlightened liberality when St. Paul was accused before him at Corinth. We may remark, in passing, that the strong attachment of Seneca to his friends, was a striking trait in his character. Even his enemies cannot say that he ever treated a true friend otherwise than fairly. It is true that Agrippina and Claudius loaded him with honours; it is also true that he is charged with ingratitude for his treatment to both when they were no longer able to serve or to injure him. But he never considered either as a true friend. His impression to the last was that it was with the view of forwarding their own designs, and not for any love of him, that each conferred honours on him; and none acquainted with their history will be disposed to deny the fact.

But to all his relatives the philosopher had the kindness of a father. When his nephew, Lucan, was accused of treason by Nero, Seneca was more uneasy about his fate than his own; and that his affection was fully reciprocated by his friends, we have abundant evidence. His father doated on him as long as he lived; his brothers, nephews, and nieces were warmly attached to him; and what wife could have evinced more devotion for her husband than the young and beautiful Paulina did for the aged Seneca. His letters to Lucilius, of which one hundred and twenty-four are extant, would have proved by themselves that

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\* De Vita Beata.

he was constant and faithful in his friendships; and they would also have vindicated his claim to the character of a philosopher and moralist.

One of Seneca's best works is that "On Benefits."\* This, as well as the letters to Lucilius, was written after the author had retired from court. He was at least sixty-seven years when he wrote it, and there is no finer specimen of his writings. He describes the proper manner of conferring benefits, and points out the duties of those who receive them; then, in the form of episodes, he treats of gratitude and ingratitude.

Passing over some works of minor interest, we come to the "Seven books of Questions on Nature,"† which is one of the most curious and interesting monuments that antiquity has left us. Those who read this work carefully, cannot form a low estimate of the scientific attainments of the Romans even in Nero's time. It discusses a large variety of subjects in natural philosophy, including many phenomena of which it is generally supposed at the present day the ancients knew nothing. The author's remarks on the inundations of the Nile; the geological characteristics of Egypt; the nature of earthquakes, volcanoes, &c., might easily be mistaken for those of some of the most recent modern investigators. They are very much superior to the similar "Questions" of Bacon, although much more modestly put forward than those of the latter. "The theory of earthquakes," says Humboldt, "as given by Seneca, contains the germ of all that has been stated in our times concerning the action of elastic vapours enclosed in the interior of the globe."‡

Some critics attribute several tragedies to Seneca, namely, *Media*, *Hippolytus*, *Hercules in Œta*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Furens*. By far the best of all is *Media*, and this is the only one that Quintilian and Lipsius regard as his; they think the rest were either written by his father, or by some other member of the Seneca family; and there is good reason to believe that they are right, for the style of all the tragedies, with the sole exception of the *Media*, is inferior to that of even the most careless passages in his other writings.

Fourteen letters, purporting to have been written to St. Paul, have also been attributed to Seneca. They were printed in several of the earlier editions of his

\* De Beneficiis.

† Naturalium Quæstionum, libri vii.

‡ Voyage aux contrées équinoxiales, vol. i., pp. 313, 4to.

works, and none seemed to have questioned their genuineness; but they are now almost universally regarded as spurious. Indeed, it is impossible to regard them in any other light without assuming that the philosopher had greatly degenerated in his style, for the Latin of the letters to St. Paul is absolutely barbarous. The probability is that they were forged in the middle ages. As the apostle was undoubtedly at Rome some years before the death of Seneca, and was well treated by the philosopher's brother Gallio, if not by himself, it was not difficult to make the credulous readers of the middle ages believe that an extensive correspondence was carried on between the two reformers. The plausibility of such a theory was much increased by the fact that there are very few of the great maxims of Christianity which are not found in one form or other in the writings of Seneca. But the improbability that he would entirely alter his style in writing to so learned a linguist as St. Paul—making use of a semi-barbarous Latinity—is not the only argument against the genuineness of the letters alluded to. Chronology affords one still more conclusive if possible. St. Paul was in nominal captivity at Rome in the year 62 A. D., and Seneca was put to death at the beginning of 65. The date of Paul's Epistle to the Romans is generally supposed to have been the year 62, scarcely any believe that it was made public earlier; whereas, nearly all the works of Seneca, including several of his letters to Lucilius, had been published before the year 60. How, then, could he have borrowed all his pious maxims from St. Paul's Epistle? The impossibility of this will be the more apparent when it is borne in mind that in none of the works of Seneca is he more Christian-like than in his *De Ira*, which was one of the first of his productions, and was written, at least, eighteen years (44) before the visit of the apostle to Rome. At this time Paul had not written his first Epistle; nor is it likely that a single book of the New Testament had seen the light.\*

It is idle then, to regard St. Paul as the instructor of Seneca, notwithstanding the decidedly Christian character of many of the maxims of the philosopher, as we shall see presently. In the mean time let us remember, that there are many thoughts in the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero which have been adopted by the most pious

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\* *Vide*, Etude critique sur les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et Saint Paul, par Aubertin, 8vo, Paris, 1857.

Christians, and each of those great thinkers has been carefully studied by Seneca. He was also familiar with the dogmas of Pythagoras and Zoroaster; and it cannot be denied that he was an original thinker himself.

We have already remarked, that although Seneca availed himself of good maxims wherever he found them, he had a decided partiality for the Stoic doctrines; and it must not be forgotten that whatever were the faults of the Stoics, they made a nearer approach to Christianity, at least in their ethics, than any other ancient sect. It is not strange, therefore, that their chief representative is more like a Christian in his precepts and modes of thinking, than any other ancient philosopher. There is not one of his philosophical works, which does not contain evidence of this similarity. None of the Fathers of the Church has written more piously of the Creator, than Seneca has in his work "On Providence."

"Every man knows," he says, "without telling, that this wonderful fabric of the universe is not without a governor; and that the constant order cannot be the work of chance; for the parts would then fall foul one upon another. The motions of the stars, *and their influences*, are acted by the command of an eternal decree. It is by the dictate of an Almighty Power that the heavy body of the earth *hangs in balance*. Whence come the revolutions of the seasons, and the flux of the rivers? the wonderful virtue of the smallest seeds? as an *oak* to arise from an *acorn*."

With the same view the author then proceeds to point out many of the phenomena of nature, including volcanoes, earthquakes, boiling fountains, the tides, new islands starting out of the sea, &c. Seneca is equally earnest and eloquent in proving the immortality of the soul.

"When the day shall come," he says, "that will separate this composition, human and divine, *I will leave this body here, where I found it, and return to the gods*; not that I am altogether absent from them even now; though detained from superior happiness, by this heavy earthly clog. This short stay in mortal life, *is but the prelude to a better*, and more lasting life above. As we are detained nine months in our mother's womb, which prepares us *not for itself, to dwell always therein, but to that place whereunto we are sent, as soon as we are fit to breathe the vital air, and strong enough to bear the light*; so, in that space of time, which reacheth from infancy to old age inclusive, we aspire after another birth as from the womb of Nature. Another beginning, another state of things expects us. We cannot as yet reach heaven, till duly qualified by this interval."

It is needless to show how many of the sentiments contained in this passage are in strict accordance with the

teachings of the Bible. Neither Christian nor Pagan has defined reason more correctly, or more beautifully, than Seneca; nor has any one more happily exhibited the difference between man and the lower animals.

"Fertility," says he, "recommends the vine, as a fine flavour does the juice of the grape; the excellency in a stag is swiftness; in beasts of burden, a strong back; an exquisite quickness of scent distinguishes the hound; speed the greyhound; fierceness and courage the bull-dog, or such as are ordained to attack wild beasts: and what is the excellency in man? Reason. It is this, wherein man excels the brute creation, and draws near to the gods. Perfect reason, therefore, is the proper good of men. Other qualities he hath in common with plants and animals: is he strong? so are lions. Is he beautiful? so are peacocks. Is he swift? so are horses. I do not say how far he may excel, or be excelled in any of these points; for I am not inquiring after what is greatest in him, but what is his own. Has he a body? so has a tree. Has he internal power of self-motion? so have beasts, and even worms. Hath he a voice? some dogs have a louder; more shrill is that of the eagle, more deep that of the bull; and more sweet and voluble is the voice of the nightingale. What, then, is proper only to man? Reason. This, when right and perfect, completes the happiness of man."

No philosopher of any age could claim a nobler ancestry than Seneca. His family belonged to the nobility in every sense of the term; it was at once ancient, wealthy, intellectual, and well informed. But there was no haughtiness in the character of Seneca. He valued all men, not according to their rank or ancestry, but according to their intelligence and worth. As there are exceptions to all rules, so in this case Claudius and Nero may be regarded as exceptions in relation to the conduct of Seneca. But all others to whom Seneca pretended friendship were really good men; and it was for their goodness and wisdom they were distinguished, not for their wealth or ancient lineage. This was true both of Annæus Serenus, and of Burrhus; and it was equally true of Lucilius, to whom the philosopher addressed the one hundred and twenty-four letters of his that are still extant. He is perfectly consistent with himself, therefore, in maintaining that virtue is the only nobility, and that we should treat all men according to their merits, as he recommends in the following passage:—

"It is not well done to be still murmuring against nature and fortune; as if it were their unkindness that makes you inconsiderable, when it is only by your own weakness that you make yourself so; for it is virtue, not pedigree, that renders a man either valuable or happy. Philosophy does not either reject or choose any man for his quality. Socrates was no patrician, Cleanthes but an under-gardener; neither did Plato dignify philosophy by his birth, but by his goodness. All these



worthy men are our progenitors, if we will but do ourselves the honour to become their disciples. The original of all mankind was the same; and it is only a clear conscience that makes any man noble; for that derives even from heaven itself. It is the saying of a great man, that if we could but trace our descents, we should find all slaves to come from princes, and all princes from slaves."

We need adduce no further evidence of the eminently humane and enlightened character of Seneca's philosophy, but still more noble if possible is the morality which he everywhere inculcates. If he did not act in accordance with that morality himself, as many of his contemporaries allege, the fact is to be regretted; but no sensible person rejects gold because found in combination with the basest and most poisonous of metals. The precepts of Seneca possess a value which is altogether independent of their author. If their author were entirely unknown they would lose none of their value, because it is not their authorship, but the truth which they contain, that renders them valuable and useful.

In presenting our readers a few of these maxims of Seneca as specimens we must necessarily be discursive and brief; nor can we pretend that those we can collect in this cursory manner will always be the best in themselves, or the most characteristic of the author. But if they show that, whatever were his faults, he was a great moralist, one of our chief objects in discussing the subject will have been attained.

There is no gift on which Seneca sets a higher value than wisdom; yet he assures us that if it were offered to him on condition that he would keep it exclusively to himself, he would not wish it.\*

He cared nothing for the fame of authorship. Any one so disposed, he writes to his friend Lucilius, might accuse him of borrowing or plagiarizing, but he was resolved to appropriate a good and useful idea wherever he found it.† In another epistle he says that whatever is true, is his‡—that is, it is common property, as emanating from the Deity. Of a kindred character is the maxim that philosophy is not intended to show light to a few favored individuals, but like the sun is designed by the Creator for the benefit of all.§

\* In hoc gaudeo aliquid discere ut doceam: nec me ulla res delectabit, licet eximia sit et salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus sim. Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, rejiciam.—*Ep.* 6.

† Quidquid bene dictum est ab ullo meum est.—*Ep.* 16.

‡ Quod verum est meum est.—*Ep.* 12.

§ Non rejicit quemquam philosophia nec elijit: omnibus lucet.—*Ep.* 44.

He tries to excuse his own weakness when in exile in one of his letters to Lucilius. "There are certain movements," he says, "which we cannot control; our tears gush forth against our will and these tears soothe us. Sometimes we may obey nature without compromising our dignity."\* In another letter he presents the same idea in another point of view. "It is idle to say that the sage must not be moved at any thing; that his soul ought to be as exempt from troubles and storms as the ether which is above the clouds." Seneca was a firm believer in the unity of the human race; at least he sought to make all mankind regard each other as brothers. "Philosophy teaches us," he says "to adore God and to love men; to remember that the gods are the masters of all things, and that mankind form one family." Where can we find nobler precepts than the following?—"Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your superiors. \* \* Permit yourself to do nothing in private which you would be afraid to do before your enemy."

In the *De Ira*, which is believed to have been the first written of Seneca's works, there are many noble sentiments. Here we find a "higher law" first inculcated. "No one need boast," he says, "of being good according to law. How many duties are incumbent on man which are not written in any code!"† It is in the same essay he tells us that man was designed by the Creator to be a helper to his fellow-man;‡ that to those who do evil we should express gentle and fraternal sentiments; and that we should remember that none of us can declare ourselves entirely innocent.§ The philosopher is still more Christian, if possible, in his *De Vita Beata*, in which he says that we should do good to those entirely unknown to us; to the wicked, and *even to our enemies*.|| It is by no means sufficient, he tells us, that our discourses please; they should bear fruit.¶

In short, the maxims of Seneca have been adopted by the moralists of every enlightened nation of modern times. This is particularly true of the following: "The most powerful man has reason to fear as much evil as he

\* Hæc (philosophia) docet colere divina, humana diligere, et penes Deos imperium esse, inter homines consortium.—*Ep.* 90.

† *De Ira*, 11, 29.

‡ *Ib.*, 1, 5.

§ *Ib.*, 1.

| Chap. 20.

¶ Non delectant verba nostra sed prosint. . . . Aliæ artes ad ingenium totæ pertinent, hic animi negotium agitur. Non querit æger medicum eloquentem sed sanantem.—*Ep.* 75.

can do." "A traveller has many hosts, but few friends." "Little minds carry into great things the vice which is innate in them." "The way of precept is long; that of example is shorter and surer." "A part of life is passed in doing evil, the greater part in doing nothing; almost the whole in doing any thing but what ought to be done."

These detached thoughts can give but a faint idea of the value of Seneca's ethics; but we think they show at least that the author was a great thinker, and that his works are worth reading.

For nearly seventeen hundred years Seneca has been alternately praised and decried, but if his numerous critics be examined, it will be found that his admirers are much more competent judges than his traducers. An example or two will suffice to prove this. All will admit that Pope was a greater moralist than Dryden—indeed, the latter is a very indifferent moralist, if he can be said to have any claim to the title—whereas the author of the "Essay on Man" is one of the greatest moralists the modern world has produced. But Pope had the greatest admiration for Seneca; whereas Dryden has given currency to the worst slanders of his enemies, at the same time condemning his writings as almost worthless. In France he has been assailed by Laharpe, who not only condemns the man, but makes an elaborate and tedious effort to disparage his writings.\* Diderot, upon the other hand, has written an eloquent vindication of Seneca.† None who know the two authors need be informed of the superior abilities of Diderot; and the estimate of Diderot is, that "the portico, the academy, and the lyceum of Greece have produced no one comparable to Seneca in moral philosophy."‡

Still more emphatic, if possible, is the admiration of Montaigne, who quotes Seneca everywhere throughout his works, and devotes a whole essay to a vindication of Seneca and Plutarch.

Many have condemned Seneca as a teacher, because his pupil, Nero, proved a bad man and a tyrant. Need we say that this is very defective logic? How often have the most exemplary parents had the worst children? Many a good father has been assassinated by his son. Is

\* *Vide Cours de Littérature*, tome III., part ii., pp. 160–348.

† *Essai sur la vie de Sénèque*, par M. Diderot.

‡ Le portique, l'académie, et le lycée de la Grèce n'ont rien produit de comparable à Sénèque pour la philosophie morale.—*Essai sur la vie de Sénèque*, c. xliv.

it more discreditable to any one to be murdered by his pupil than by his son? Seneca had many other pupils, but they all proved good men except Nero; all with the exception of Nero would have sacrificed their lives to save him, rather than put him to death themselves. But fortunately, Seneca has left us specimens enough of his mode of teaching to vindicate him fully in this respect. Knowing that his imperial pupil permitted himself to be influenced injuriously by idle tales, he pointed out to him the evil consequences of such a course; and he did so in a manner that rendered his advice applicable to all ranks of life and to every age. Such for example, is the character of the following passage:—

"It is good for every man to fortify himself on his weak side; and if he loves his peace, he must not be inquisitive, and hearken to tale-bearers; for the man that is over-curious to hear and see every thing, multiplies troubles to himself; for a man does not feel what he does not know. He that is listening after private discourse, and what people say of him, shall never be at peace. How many things that are innocent in themselves, are yet made injurious by misconstruction? Wherefore some things we are to pause upon, others to laugh at, others to pardon. Or, if we cannot avoid the sense of indignities, let us shun the open profession of it; which may be easily done, as appears by many examples of those that have suppressed their anger, under the awe of a greater fear. It is a good caution *not to believe any thing until we are very certain of it*; for many *probable* things prove *false*, and a short time will make evidence of the undoubted truth. We are prone to believe many things which we are unwilling to hear, and so we conclude, and take up a prejudice before we can judge. *Never condemn a friend unheard; or without letting him know his accuser, or his crime.*"

Not one of those who have condemned Seneca were capable of giving a nobler lesson than this. Had Nero only profited by it, he would not have committed one of the atrocities he did. If it be objected that this is the language of a moralist rather than of a literary instructor, and that it is not such as a tutor is expected to teach his pupil, we can find sufficient of the latter character also in the works of Seneca. Thus, in what author, ancient or modern, do we find more excellent thoughts than those in the philosopher's eighty-eighth Epistle to Lucilius, "On Liberal Studies?" "You see," he says in this essay, "why studies are called liberal; it is because they are worthy of a liberal man; besides, a study which is truly liberal, makes us liberal."\* He then proceeds to examine whether liberal studies make a man good; and he

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\* Quare liberalia studia dicta sint, vides, quia homine libero digna sunt; ceterum unum studium vere liberale est, quod liberum facit.—*Ep. lxxxviii.*

shows that their tendency is to do so. At the same time, he makes distinctions which are too often lost sight of by teachers; he says, that while the study of grammar, logic, geometry, &c., is well calculated to develop the intellectual faculties, it is by no means sufficient to give the student a correct idea of right and wrong. He thinks that one may be very expert in the examination of words and syllables, in demonstrating propositions in geometry, and be well skilled in music, and yet be timid, greedy, and vicious.\* Seneca shows that in teaching either a language or a science, the teacher has much more to do than to impress the principles of it on his pupil; he is bound to teach him the difference between right and wrong, partly by oral precepts, and partly by causing him to read good books which illustrate the benefits of virtue and the evil consequences of vice.

At the same time, Seneca would not have the minds of his pupils overtaxed; he would neither give them too many books, nor too many studies. He would have them understand one book, or science, or art, before taking up another. It were well that many of our modern teachers would adopt the same course; then there would be much more thoroughness and less pretension than there is. Referring to books, the philosopher says:—

“Be pleased likewise to consider that the reading many authors, and books of all sorts, betrays a vague and unsteady disposition. You must attach yourself to some in particular, and thoroughly digest what you read, if you would intrust the faithful memory with any thing of use. He that is everywhere is nowhere. They who spend their time in travelling, meet indeed, with many a host, but few friends. This is necessarily the case of those who apply *not familiarly to any one study but run over every thing cursorily and in haste*. The food profits not, nor gives due nourishment to the body, that abides not some time therein. Nothing so much prevents the recovery of health as a frequent change of *supposed remedies*. A wound is not soon healed, when different salves are *tried by way of experiment*. A plant thrives not, nor can well take root, that is moved from place to place.”

No educator worthy of the name will deny this. It is sufficiently evident to any reflecting mind, that those who study a dozen different branches at the same time, can not study any of them thoroughly. As well might one try to learn at the same time the crafts of the printer, the watchmaker, the carpenter, the shoemaker, and the tailor; he who makes such an attempt will be sure to fail. It is

\* Quid ex his metum demit, cupiditatem eximit, libidinem frenat? Ad geometriam transemus, et ad musicum; nihil apud illas invenies quod vetet timere, vetet cupere; quæ quisquis ignorat, alia frustra scit.—*Ep. lxxxviii.*

much better and more creditable to understand one science or art thoroughly, than to have a vague, smattering knowledge of a dozen; at the same time it is not strange that none make louder pretensions, than those condemned by Seneca.

It is also Seneca who has given the best rules for letter-writing. "You complain," he writes to Lucilius, "that my letters are not written with sufficient care; but do we bestow that care on our conversation except we wish to speak in an affected manner? It is my wish that my letters may resemble a conversation which we have had together, sitting down or walking. My desire is that they may be simple and easy, and that they bear no trace either of research or labour." The best modern letter-writers, including Swift, Addison, Montaigne, Fontenelle, Cowper, and Chesterfield, have adopted this rule. If Seneca's own letters do not seem simple or easy, but may be regarded as essays rather than epistles, this does not render his opinion on the subject the less correct. Aristotle was not a poet in the ordinary acceptance of the term; yet no one has written better, or indeed so well, on poetry. He did not pretend to be capable of producing either an epic or a tragedy; but the rules by which he judges both have possessed the force and dignity of laws in every enlightened country for many centuries. No poet worthy of the name pretends to set aside these laws on the ground that the author of them had no right to make them since he was not a poet himself; yet this is the sort of logic which critics like Laharpe bring to bear on Seneca.\* They condemn his style, when they cannot condemn his thoughts.

It is very true that his style is not equal to that of Cicero, Livy, or Sallust; yet we are bound to remember that he did not live in the Augustan age. The Latin language had begun to degenerate before he was born; if his latinity is inferior to that of the authors mentioned, so is that of Tacitus and Juvenal; but who fails to admire either on this account? There are many who affect to be greatly dissatisfied with the style of Seneca, who would never have supposed it was defective had not Quintilian, the contemporary and rival of the philosopher, found fault with it. But although Quintilian was evidently jealous of the success and fame of Seneca, he deems it judicious to be cautious in con-

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\* *Vide Cours de Littérature, tome iii., part ii., p. 163 et seq.*

demning him ; and even when he does find fault, he is obliged to admit that his rival has great merits. As his remarks are historical as well as critical, and show that those Roman educators who were not prejudiced availed themselves of the teachings of the philosopher, we transcribe them here :—

“Of Seneca I have purposely delayed to speak, in reference to any department of eloquence, on account of a false report that has been circulated respecting me, from which I was supposed to condemn, and even to hate him. This happened to me while I was striving to bring back our style of speaking, which was spoiled and enervated by every kind of fault, to a more severe standard of taste. At that time Seneca was almost the only writer in the hands of the young. I was not desirous for my own part to set him aside altogether, but I could not allow him to be preferred to those better authors whom he never ceased to attack, since, being conscious that he had adopted a different style from theirs, he distrusted his power of pleasing those by whom they were admired. But his *partisans* rather admired than succeeded in imitating him, and fell as far below him as he had fallen below the older writers. Yet it had been desirable that his followers should have been equal to him, or at least have made near approaches to him ; but he attracted them only by his faults, and each of them set himself to copy in him what he could ; and then, when they began to boast that they wrote like him, they brought dishonour on his name. Still he had many and great merits ; a ready and fertile wit, extraordinary application, and extensive knowledge on various subjects, though he was sometimes deceived by those he had employed to make researches for him. He has written on almost every department of learning : for there are orations of his, and poems, and letters, and dialogues in circulation. In philosophy he was not sufficiently accurate, though an admirable assailant of vices. There are many bright thoughts in him, and much that may be read for moral improvement, but most of his phraseology is in a vitiated taste, and most hurtful to students, for the very reason that it abounds in pleasing faults. We could wish that he had written from his own mind, and under the control of another person's judgment : for if he had rejected some of his thoughts, if he had not fixed his affections on small beauties, if he had not been in love with every thing that he conceived, if he had not weakened the force of his matter by petty attempts at sententiousness, he would have been honoured with the unanimous consent of the learned, rather than the admiration of boys. Yet, such as he is, he ought to be read by those whose judgment is matured, and whose minds have been strengthened by a severer manner of writing, if with no other object than that the reader may exercise his judgment for and against him ; for, as I said, there is much in him worthy of approval, and much deserving of admiration ; only it must be our care to choose judiciously, as I wish that he himself had done, since natural powers, that could accomplish whatever they pleased, were worthy of having better objects to accomplish.”\*

The *animus* of the rival is apparent in this throughout. It shows that if Quintilian was accused of hating, or at least, of disliking Seneca, it was not without good reason. The former was by no means pleased to find the

\* De Institutione Oratore. Lib. c. 125.

latter preferred to other writers; and, as to the style of Seneca, it is vastly more lucid than that of his critic. The latinity of Seneca is not Augustan, as we have already remarked; but neither is that of Quintilian. The latter is not only the most prosy of all the Latin writers; he is also the most obscure. He has no originality; no warmth; whereas Seneca possesses both in a high degree. Seneca had the same idea of style which he had of dress; he thought that the philosopher, or even the orator, should set but little value on either;\* whereas Quintilian depended nearly as much on the choice of words as on the choice of ideas; and yet his language is by no means a model. In addition to this, Diderot reminds us that one was a professor of elocution, the other a professor of philosophy; and that, while one remained a schoolmaster, the other became a prime minister.†

This is quite sufficient to account for the adverse criticisms of Quintilian, at the same time, it would be unjust to deny that education in general, especially oratory, owes much to the author of *De Institutione Oratore*. Far be it from us to say one word in depreciation of so judicious and excellent an instructor; we merely want to show that, although he is, in general, a most impartial critic, it is unfair to judge Seneca by his estimate, since he had a motive to condemn, to which few minds are superior. We are quite as much disposed to vindicate one as the other. Accordingly, we readily admit that Quintilian was more moral in his practice than Seneca; but we hold that the philosopher was a much more profound thinker than the elocutionist; and, that much good as the writings of the latter have done, those of the former have done vastly more.

It must ever be deplored that, for at least a portion of his life, Seneca was licentious; and that, if he was not actually guilty of crime, it is too evident that he was not always actuated in his conduct by honorable motives. But he has made ample amends for his errors in his writings. Whatever mischief he did in his time it was very slight when placed in the balance against the

\* "Neatness of style, he says, is no manly ornament." (Non est ornamentum virile cincinnatas.)—*Ep.* cxv.

† Quintilien naquit la seconde année du règne de Claude: alors Sénèque avait quitté le barreau. Celui-ci professa la philosophie, l'autre l'art oratoire. Tous deux furent instituteurs des grands; mais Quintilien resta maître d'école, et Sénèque devint ministre."—*Essai sur la Vie de Sénèque*, par M. Diderot, chap. cvii.



incalculable service which he rendered mankind by his ethics, altogether independently of his philosophy.

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ART. II.—1. *History of Rationalism.* By REV. JOHN F. HURST, M. A. New York: Scribner & Co. 1865.

2. *The Church and the Churches.* By Dr. DÖLLINGER. London. 1866.

CHRISTIANITY has now had a sway, complete or imperfect as it may have been, of nineteen centuries, over the fairest and most highly favoured portions of the world. Whether the founders of this religious system had, at first, a clear knowledge of the extent to which the results of their labours were destined to reach, or whether the aspiration to universal conquest grew upon them gradually, as success crowned their efforts, is a point upon which varying opinions may be entertained, even by the most professedly orthodox. The geographical knowledge of the most learned contemporaries of the first apostles, was somewhat limited; nor are we required to believe that these first preachers of the Word, had, by inspiration, or otherwise, any superiority over their neighbours in the acquisition of human science. No authoritative teaching of any Church requires its members to believe that the authentic biographers had the assistance of inspiration in the narration of historical facts, or in the recording of truths not necessary or useful to salvation.

We may safely assert, then, that the apostles, and even Christ himself, regarded as a human being, when speaking of the "whole world," spoke in accordance with common usage around them, and, consequently, what appeared to them to be the whole world, or the "universe," was, in reality, but a portion of it. This might be more clearly shown by referring to the usage of sacred writers antecedent to the Christian epoch, such as may be seen in the prophets, and notably in the Pentateuch. When Tertullian, in the second century, gloried that the Church was known to the ends of the earth, he must have spoken in the same sense, and given his limited knowledge an unlimited expression. It is not very likely, or, at least, it would not be very rash to deny, that the new ideas had been borne to all nations, especially as there were then many countries with pop-

ulous cities and civilized communities entirely unknown. But Tertullian was a rhetorician, and it is not probable that his faith would deny him the modest use of a figure of speech. It is fair to state, then, that the first propagators of the gospel may not have entertained the idea of universal dominion for their religious principles; and, that they were as well satisfied with the progress made by their doctrines in that early period, as the Christians of the present day are content with the result of their own labours to the same end.

Had they equally good grounds to support that feeling of satisfaction? Upon examination, their labours will appear to have partaken largely of that spirit of self-devotion so explicitly recommended in the writings of the first apostles. A more cordial co-operation than that exhibited in the labours of the multifarious forms of Christianity in our day, distinguished the original followers of the Galilean regenerator. Their action was more combined, whilst it enjoyed more unrestricted freedom from conventional rule.

These two qualities must have wonderfully aided in the attainment of success. They evinced less anxiety, and, in fact, had less need to oppose the divergent opinions that began to be developed in the nascent Church, than we witness around us at the present day. Perhaps, too, circumstances lent them better aid. A degeneracy had taken place in the natural civilization which had for ages diffused its influence over the nations of antiquity, and the colossus of the Roman tyranny was about to topple from its own corruption. When, at a later period, the barbarians of the North had shattered to pieces the crumbling mass, they could not help being awed by the majestic ruins, nor could they deny the science of those whom they had enslaved.

Physical force, whilst dominant over mental greatness, must yield ultimately to the invincible superiority of the latter. Since this is the order of nature, whose laws constitute the providence of God, we need not be surprised at the numerous evidences of it in the history of our race in the past, whilst we may with greater confidence rely upon its fuller manifestation in the future. In this principle we may discover a reason which will explain the success that crowned the efforts of Christianity in the first centuries of our era. The advocates of religion pretend, whether wisely or not we do not now discuss, that this success must be ascribed to miraculous

intervention—to supernatural, or, at least, preternatural agency.

No sooner had idolatry fallen, and triumph crowned the general principles of Christianity, than its human elements began to develop themselves in the form of internal discord and external disunion. Men, high in authority, were more desirous of preserving their personal pre-eminence, than of propagating the doctrines of their religion. Even in the Council of Nice, looked upon by all Christians as the first ecumenical assembly, the congregated bishops required the yet unbaptized Constantine, to compel his subjects by physical force to embrace the predominant doctrines decreed in the Council. This example soon became universal in the Church, and from that remote period, down to the past century, we are presented with the edifying spectacle of Christians using the fervid arguments of fire and sword, in order to convince each other of true Christian virtue.

This spirit is, however, but feebly represented in the present age. That there are still some who would too willingly lend a hand in piling up the stake to test the obstinacy of a dissenting brother, cannot be denied by any person who has taken the pains to learn the secret wishes of some religionists. But, in our opinion, the time for such arguments has passed away, never to return; and the only persuasion that can henceforth be effective in propagating religious doctrines, must be grounded on reason and charity. This is nothing more than reverting to the too often neglected teaching of the divine Founder of Christianity. The religious party that ignores this truth, and adheres to antiquated notions of intolerance and domination by forcible means, is but an obstruction to its own aspirations—clogging the wheels of its own progress, and drying up the fountains of sympathy between itself and advancing humanity.

These brief considerations, necessarily prefatory to what we have to say, will lead us to view the most prominent features which the Christian world of the present day presents to us. We must confine our judgment to the external form, indeed, although from this we may frequently divine the internal spirit. But as not even the Catholic Church pretends to judge the internal life of her own members, much less do we presume to pass judgment upon the spirit of any denomination, or of any individual. We can only judge that of which we have cognizance, and which is subject to our perception.

The first thing that will strike an impartial observer, and produce impressions for which he could not be expected to have been prepared, is the disunion, the discord, or the domestic hostility between the different bodies that call themselves Christians. More than this, there appears between them an antipathy wholly irreconcilable with the clearest maxim of their common Master. If there is an expression upon whose meaning there can be no theological quibbling, it is that in which his followers are told to "love one another." Hermeneutists can find but one meaning in these words, nor can exegetists discover more than one *sense*. Yet, has there been a principle more rigorously pursued by the different denominations than that of hostility to each other?

It sometimes appears that there is amongst them a stronger desire to combat or secretly thwart the designs of a rival body, than to forward their own interests. Are there not cases—we hope exceptional—in which the aim of one party is directed to spoil the prospects, or ruin the projects of another, rather than aid or wish success to the missionary enterprises of its neighbour? A noble emulation in good is commendable, but a spirit of opposition to the works of another, because of another, is disreputable. This is more unaccountable in Christian bodies when we consider the action of their Master in a similar case. His disciples brought him word upon one occasion, that other men were doing good works in his name, without his express commission. Far from approving of his disciples' jealousy, he forbade them to interfere, and approved the works of the strangers.

Although we judge that his spirit is not the most prominent feature in his modern disciples, our remarks here are rather suggestive than otherwise, as we desire those interested to draw their own conclusions. Our view is that the internal discord and external hostility between the various branches of Christianity within the last three hundred years, have been highly injurious to its efficiency, and an impediment to the propagation of its principles among heathen nations.

Moreover, this discordance and unfriendly spirit have been productive of disastrous consequences to the Christian body at large, with respect to its own standing in the light of the present age. It is not too much to say—for it is patent to the eyes of every thinking man who wishes to see it—that the bonds by which the interests of religion and civil society might be expected to be now drawn

closely together, have, on the contrary, become strained, and, to some extent, dissevered more than is well for either. There is a wide-spread feeling of dissociation, if not a threatened total disruption, between the secular elements of modern social life, and what is regarded as the religious element.

This is more so in Europe than in our own country. Religious criticism and religious discussion have gone farther in advance in the old seats of Christianity than with us; although there is an undeniably rapid progress in imitation of the same springing up around us, and even boldly mounting into pulpits most stiffly conservative. The ultimate effects of this powerful current of human thought, it is not for us to predict; we are more particularly concerned with its immediate results. One of these, and not the least important, is the gradual removal of many old landmarks which were fondly believed to have indicated the limits of human science. The strong tendency to which we have alluded above, *i.e.*, of separating the secular from the religious elements of social life, or of ignoring the supernatural in any restricted sense, and taking cognizance only of the natural, must be chiefly owing to the internal dissension and consequent weakness superinduced by the domestic strife for which Christian polemics have been, and still are, the field.

A Christian maxim, of no difficulty to comprehend, says that "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." If this be true, those who profess the deepest interest in the Christian republic may find much to disturb their dreams of universality in the present state of the various churches, divided and indefinitely subdivided as they are. If this process of disintegration continue—and we see no satisfactory reason to think it may cease—what hope can the future hold out to even the most ardent zealot? We are aware that a few enlightened believers take another view of this phase of their religion, and, instead of regarding it with feelings of regret, deem it a natural, if not a necessary consequence of Christian principles, and one, moreover, highly desirable, because highly beneficial. As this is the opinion of only a few, it cannot be looked upon as of much importance; it is by no means prevalent to any respectable extent. There being an indescribable variety of doctrines in Christianity, it is certain that there is no one doctrine of all these not denied by members of the Christian body..

In mechanics, a system of forces acting in combination will produce a result that cannot be obtained from the same forces separately applied, much less if acting in opposite directions. Now it appears very clear to us that this same principle is at work in the moral world. The long-standing and apparently irreconcilable divisions of the Christian body impair its efficiency in the conversion of nations not yet regenerate, whilst the incomprehensible confusion, the disorder, the contradictions in which it is so prolific, weaken the intelligent faith of its own members, and depend very much upon zeal and enthusiasm. This, however, is but one characteristic of that religion which has given a name and civilization to Christendom. With what it has done in the past we are not now concerned. With its present influence upon men and nations we are occupied; and although there are many things in it that strike us as inexplicable, we shall endeavour to express our views of its various forms so far as they are intelligible to us.

It is not without a feeling somewhat akin to humiliation that a Christian can bring home to his mind the fact that his religion is professed only by a moiety of the human race; and this, too, after its long existence in the world. There are more Buddhists than all Christians put together. That these heathen are more sincere in their belief, and more faithful in the practice of their religious tenets than are Christians, it would not be rash to assert, and it would be difficult to disprove. This, of course, does not imply that we defend the degradation to which, undoubtedly, heathenism reduces its devotees, or that we compare it with Christianity. We only compare the subjective sincerity of the professors of the different forms of belief.

We are convinced that the doctrines of Christianity are sufficiently profound to afford ample field for the subtlest research of the highest intellect, and we know that they have been accepted by men of the first order of genius. This nobody can venture to affirm of the irrational postulates or incredible riddles of Brahminism or its kindred sects, which must be regarded as the highest type of heathenism. The advocates of Christianity have always had amongst them some of the noblest exemplars of the human mind, both in natural powers and in cultivation. Her most enlightened champions have made it their especial care to teach that the most abstruse mysteries of faith are in harmony with natural

reason, and contain nothing contradictory to well-established principles of natural science. It is only the crude conjectures of some modern sciolists that Christianity reprehends. And it is only with exceptional mystics or extravagant supernaturalists, not recognized as exponents of any, but occupying the extreme outskirts of every creed, that the irreconcilability of Christian doctrine and natural human science, in its most advanced, approved state, is maintained. Notwithstanding all this prestige of being the acknowledged cause of our civilization and freedom, it is not altogether satisfactory to think that the diffusion of Christianity over the earth has not been more complete, and is not now triumphant over all systems of religion having a different origin.

The Mahometan creed retains its sway over the minds of extensive Asiatic and African populations once believers in Christian revelation, which they exchanged for the visions of Mahomet. These are, at least, as firm in their devotion to the Crescent, as are Christians to the Cross. China, Hindostan, and other densely populated regions, adhere to their unyielding idolatry, without being greatly influenced either by a copious distribution of Bibles by Protestant, or the prodigal effusion of blood by martyred Catholic missionaries. Even at our own doors, in face of our westward advancing civilization, uncouth idolatry squats undisturbed, more likely to give way to the shriek of the locomotive than to the voice of the missionary. If, then, Protestants fail to make their lavishly distributed money and Bibles an effective means of diffusing belief in mysterious doctrines upon whose intelligence they are not themselves entirely agreed; and if Catholics cannot, by their well-known means of self-sacrifice, attain the same end, it is not easy to foresee the definite period at which the world shall be wholly Christian.

Although there is an evident discrepancy between the proclaimed efforts to spread the gospel and the results of these efforts, it must not be supposed that Christianity is inoperative in modern society. Without entering upon the nature and the doctrines of our religion, we cannot omit to state briefly, that it is a civilization as well as a worship. It has not been ordained to lead men to a future state, otherwise than in a human, rational manner. Civilization is the practical completion and elevation of the intellectual powers of man, over the grosser portions of material nature. Christianity has civilization for its object as much as it has the inculcation of a spirit of reverence

and submission to the Deity. It must even civilize before it can teach to worship.

To suppose that there can be a Christian without a proper knowledge of the Great Cause of all things, of his own nature and destiny, and some of those natural truths upon which Christianity is based, would be absurd. Yet there are not a few mystics in all creeds, who seem incapable to admit this. Thus they would destroy all harmony between the natural and the supernatural, by placing between them an impassable abyss, over whose obscurity humanity could never find a way, even guided by the Divinity. The natural and supernatural have the same origin—they arise from the same cause—the creative act of God. By regarding Christianity as hostile or repugnant to the principles of nature, particularly of man's nature, instead of harmonizing the natural and supernatural, the secular and the religious, by a synthetic act, there arises that dangerous dissociation, which has gone so far to estrange the sympathies of modern life from the old faith.

Rather than enter into general principles, illustrating this state of things, we place before our readers a statement or two from the works placed at the head of this article.

Mr. Hurst has been industrious in collecting much useful information regarding the state of feeling in the Protestant world, whilst Dr. Döllinger, has shown a much more extensive acquaintance with his kindred subject. They both profess orthodoxy, but of a different stamp. Mr. Hurst does not make it clear, in any one line of his six hundred and twenty-three pages, what name belongs to the type of orthodox religion whose claims to truth he asserts, against the assaults of rationalism; whilst Dr. Döllinger leaves no room to doubt his uncompromising, but liberal and enlightened advocacy of all the prerogatives of the Catholic Church in any page of his work. As Mr. Hurst, however, is quite laudative of "the Church," and does not maintain the peculiar dogmas of Catholics, we suppose him to represent the Protestant Church, though to which branch of it he clings it is impossible to divine.

This, however, we say hesitatingly, well knowing, that of the countless denominations of which Protestantism may justly boast, none would be willing to abide by the interpretation of a rival sect. And, that few Protestants would to-day admit Mr. Hurst's opinions, we are convinced, when we discover that he holds (as we intimated



above to be held by exceptional individuals of all creeds), that "the spirit of Christianity is so totally at variance with that of the world, that it is in vain to expect harmony between them." (Introd., p. 5.) What he means by the "unsanctified reason of man" (Ibid.) is not easy to comprehend. To ascribe evil opinions to anybody, is no congenial occupation, but we cannot help the suspicion that here enters our mind, and inclines us to fear that Mr. Hurst would establish a dualism in this world of ours, not unlike Manichæism,—a doctrine fatally pernicious, and calculated to dis sever enlightened minds from all sympathy with revelation, on account of a falsely interpreted Christianity.

The antagonism supposed to exist between "the spirit of Christianity and that of the world," upon whose imaginary prevalence so many clergymen dilate, is more specious than real, and arises from a strange ignoring of history. It is indeed true, that Christ spoke of the "world," as if in opposition to him and his doctrine. But it was the world of his day, the unregenerate, uncivilized, unchristianized world; not as it is now, glorying in the enlightenment, freedom, and love, which have been introduced by Christian *principles*, if not by Christian *men*. Those who use the term as Mr. Hurst does in his book, transport themselves back to the days of Paganism, when the world was indeed corrupt, degraded by barbarous customs, and enslaved by idolatrous opinions; when human reason might be figuratively considered "unsanctified," because darkened by prejudice, which had usurped its throne over the actions of men and the life of society. If premises are changed, it is not logical to hold their conclusions unchangeable, and certainly the nineteenth century has a different aspect from that of the first. There is great injury inflicted upon the Christian cause, by the widely extended croaking over a supposed antagonism between its doctrines and the principles of the world, as the world presents itself to our eyes. Those who believe in such antipathy ought to abandon a world which they find irreconcilable with their profession, for they look upon Christianity as synonymous with monasticism, and have much in common with the troglodytes of ancient Egypt.

It is no wonder that Rationalism, against which Mr. Hurst tilts, makes head against revelation, supported on such a sandy foundation as that on which he would have us believe it erected. To say that "Rationalists" "were

possessed by the evil spirit" (Intro., p. 34), that "they corrupted nearly all the land (Germany) for several generations, until to-day the humblest peasant (from the land of Luther), who steps on our shores at Castle Garden, will stare in wonder, as you speak of a final judgment, the immortality of the soul, and the authenticity of the Scriptures" (Ib.), is not easily reconciled with what precedes, i. e. : "the great Coryphæi of Rationalism have sprung from the very bosom of the Church (Protestant), were educated under her maternal care, . . . were in the eyes of the people its strongest pillars, the accredited spiritual guides of the land, . . . preaching in the churches which had been hallowed by the struggles and triumphs of the Reformation." (p. 27). Moreover, "German Protestantism cannot complain that this was the work of acknowledged foes ; but is bound to confess, with confusion of face, that it has been produced by her own sons." (Ib.)

Candour is a quality always commendable ; but, although Mr. Hurst frankly admits these unpleasant facts, it is more than probable that he takes but a very partial and superficial view of the question, and does not go deep enough to discover the real cause of this eradication of Christianity in Protestant Germany. And first, the method of thought which he himself has adopted in placing Revelation above, if not contrary to human reason, is more pernicious, and has been more fatal to Christian mysteries than any Rationalistic efforts could possibly be. Any religious system that requires a man to believe in dogmas that are contrary to his reason, cannot have the Divinity for its author. God is the author of natural reason, and those mystics who suppose an All-wise Being dispensing a new revelation opposed or contradictory to the dictates of his previous work, are, in reality, guilty of the impious act by which his wisdom is assailed. Far more injurious to supernaturalism, are the irrational sophisms by which God is made to contradict himself, than the attacks of candid and avowed Rationalists.

If Christian revelation has a divine origin, its claims will be but feebly advanced by a method of reasoning that would destroy the harmony of creation. True Christianity does not require us to believe that human nature has become totally depraved, or that our reason, even in its unregenerate state, cannot discover by its own native powers some of the principal and essential doctrines un-

derlying Christianity, and without which Christianity were no better than Buddhism, or any other system foisted upon the credulity of mankind by superstition and ignorance. Sound philosophy teaches that our reason is infallible in its own sphere, and, as an eminent writer has said: "Reason never leads us astray, but reasoning does." Our judgment errs because we are illogical. We accept false premises, or from true ones deduce, by defective method, false conclusions. This is not the fault of our reason in itself; it must be attributed to our want of accuracy, or to our prejudices, which so often sway our better judgment. From the Pagan philosophers this appears very satisfactorily. Aristotle reached by his natural reason some of the most sublime truths of revelation. The unity and eternity of God, his creatorship and his providence were clearly taught by him. St. Thomas follows up and elaborates, by the same rational process, the system of Christian belief and ethics, which has had such influence in determining the Christianity of the past six centuries. The great Stagyrte died praying: "*Causa causarum, miserere mei*," and it is said that in the Middle Ages—when human reason is falsely supposed to have been held in low esteem—so highly was he, its representative, honoured, that his name was inserted in a litany of saints, under the invocation, "*Sancte Aristotele, ora pro nobis*." In our day he would have but a slight chance of salvation amongst the depreciators of human nature, who pretend to mete out future happiness according to their whim. All this, however, we say in order to express very fully our belief, that those who are eager to ignore or depress reason in order to elevate revelation—who think they serve the supernatural by removing it entirely beyond, or making it appear incompatible with the natural, are really working for the demolition of both, proving what Christ said: "A man's enemies are those of his own household," and amongst whom we cannot help numbering Rev. Mr. Hurst, although his *History of Rationalism* is undoubtedly an interesting work.

Whether a member of one denomination can give an impartial account of his own creed, or take an unprejudiced view of another, is not very easy to decide. Certain it is that we but rarely meet with any religious work entirely free from undue bias; and so common is this belief, that we are always inclined to suspect the exposition which one man gives of his neighbour's different profession.

We know that Dr. Döllinger does not accord in every

thing with the opinions of the great body of his co-religionists in all their domestic questions. It is very true that the difference between them exists only respecting non-essential points—matters of discipline, political views and opinions regarding the policy of the Church in its human organization. There is no difference, we believe, between Catholics in matters of doctrine or faith; but there is an extensive field given over to *opinion*, and although there is not everywhere the same latitude enjoyed for the expression of divergent views, there is always the utmost freedom given to the inferior assent to or dissent from propositions not of faith. And we always find the more highly educated members of the Catholic priesthood to be the most liberal in according to all the liberty which their Church does not deny them.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to detect in Dr. Döllinger's work any design to treat unfairly the question he examines. He appears to place a higher value upon truth, for truth's sake, than for the furtherance of party interest. This, because rare among sects, is all the more precious. In fact, his boldness and independence in combating opinions held by a majority of members in his own communion, is a guaranty of his fairness to other denominations. As an instance, we may cite his views of the temporal power of the Pope. He unhesitatingly declares his belief in the necessity of a change of policy in this matter, and intimates that a union of the two powers, temporal and spiritual, in one person, is an obstacle to the progress of the Church at the present day, and unequivocally demands a change in its programme in this respect.

In concluding his work he says: "We will not cling to what is transitory and accidental; we will not desire that any people shall be constrained to accept what we ourselves would not bear; we will not stand up for a false system of government which is, in fact, not more than forty-five years old, and the deficiencies of which the Pope himself has acknowledged, and which, in the course of that time, has generated nothing but discontent and revolt among the majority of the people. He who will support himself on such a staff, when the staff has already become rotten, must run the risk of falling to the ground"—(p. 474).

The man who expresses such sentiments in the face of the evident majority of his fellow-believers, thinking, or at least speaking, very strongly on the other side, must

have sufficient love of truth to give a candid examination to the doctrines of other denominations ; unless we should believe with Gibbon, that the virtues of the clergy are more to be feared than their vices. Long as we have been acquainted with Protestant doctrines, and studious as we have been of Catholic principles, we have found much to learn concerning both in the writings of Döllinger. He does not fear the spirit of the present age, nor does he hesitate to trust in the future. Instead of combating the legitimate aspirations of human reason, he professes himself an ardent advocate of its claims in every sphere of science. It is true, indeed, that he has had opposition to his views strongly expressed by a certain party in the conservative church, to whose decrees he yields unswerving adhesion. This is, of course, but natural ; and he who does not meet with contradiction may be generally put down as undeserving of approbation. He has never been censured by any authority in his communion, although he owed his escape from condemnation to the wise intervention of his friend, the learned Theiner, librarian of the Vatican.

Our age has many demands to make upon those who live and labour under its progressive inspiration. Although we cordially believe that human happiness and enlightenment have never been so far advanced in general as at the present day, there is nothing to which we look with a sense of more profound pleasure than the spirit of liberality and forbearance which is gradually pervading the religious world. This we cannot help ascribing to a more truthful appreciation of the real Christian spirit, and the more generally it announces itself from the pulpit, the brighter must grow the prospects of Christianity.

It is not easy to see the wisdom of some classes of clergymen whose chief aim is to decry the present age, and declaim against the unruly spirit manifest (to their eyes) in the impulses of the times. Many see nought but ruin in the goal to which humanity, in its longings after freedom and knowledge, at present tends. This, indeed, should not be surprising in those who look to the past as the best and purest epochs of Christian faith, who have no confidence in the present, and who dread the destinies of the future. To them the Christian light which illumined the darkness of barbarous times, and shed some lustre upon the dreariness of the Middle Ages, is now but flickering, soon, perhaps, to be totally extinguished. Many

such are to be met with, pretending to be the only true expositors of Christianity. But the world heedlessly, or contemptuously passes them by, and moves with its never-ceasing changes, whirling into existence revolutionary blessings, never returning to collect the fragments of shattered conservatism, and never rebuilding what it has battered down in its course. This we see daily more clearly illustrated in political organisms ; and religion, in its evidently human constituents, without interfering with what is divine in its constitution, must also acknowledge the same providential principle. Nothing human is stable, but humanity itself, its accidental forms, its states and institutions must undergo unceasing change.

In commending what is just and laudable in the characteristics of our age, there is no need to approve every thing that crops out under the plausible guise of progress and enlightenment. It is clear that abuse is incidental to every form of good which we may enjoy. Hence, amidst all our justly boasted advancement, there are some things that cannot attract our sympathy, because the name of liberty is often applied to that which is mere libertinism, and many who most loudly proclaim themselves in the vanguard of progress, are really those who would drag back the human race into a state more deplorable than any form of barbarism from which it has emerged.

Whilst religion proclaims the sublime doctrines that guide to another and higher state of existence, it need not make war upon the legitimate aspirations of that civilization which it has ushered into life. Whatever form of Christianity teaches incomprehensible or irrational dogmas can hardly look with hope into the coming generations. If men are required to give credence to formularies that deny us the entirety of our rational faculties, they will not accept with intelligence or sincerity such formularies. If we are taught that human nature is essentially corrupt, and remains so even after a necessary mystic regeneration by sacramental agency, we cannot have faith in that contradiction of reason. If we are called upon to believe that no human being is capable of performing a virtuous act, or any thing but sin, even after the same mysterious rite, without a superadded efficacy as a gift from heaven, we hesitate before admitting such a proposition, even though accredited to us by the venerableness of age or by the predilections of prejudice. If we have due respect for our religious belief, we must regard it as having been intended for rational beings and presentable on rational grounds.

The Rationalistic movement did not originate in the past or present century. It may have attained a more scientific development, and assumed a more cautious course by endeavouring to assimilate its theories with Christology and the Bible interpreted upon principles purely rational and human. But its efforts were contemporaneous with Christianity from the beginning. There has been always in the Church a party inquisitive and searching as well as giving reasons for belief, and there has also been another party believing without reasoning, and denying to others the privilege of reasoning in order to believe reasonably. The Pelagius of the fourth, and Erigena, of the twelfth century, as well as the unfortunate Abelard, have not been surpassed in the boldness of their speculations by any Rationalist of the present day.

But the skeptical spirit of our times in regard to what claims an incomprehensibly supernatural origin, will not stop with the repressive tendency which would crush, without satisfying, its longings. Christianity claiming direct communication with the divine mind—the source and light of all rational existence, and the very Being which is seen in all things, and through which all things are seen—cannot deny itself to be in harmony with human reason. The party that would place it in dissociation from the other works of God, and unapproachable by our intellect, is really aiming at its annihilation. On the other hand, those who look upon it as a purely human organization are sapping its foundations. Reason admitted into religion within rational bounds, must be the great bulwark of Revelation. Instead of battering down the edifice it will prop it up, injured as it is already by the sophistries of a repulsive mysticism, which arose from the same source of human folly, as that which gave birth to the barbarous superstition of Paganism.

A revelation wholly unintelligible to reason were absurd. This, too, is the doctrine of the great Church which claims universality, although individual members practically ignore it. Many of our modern religionists are adverse to such an idea, and hence the discordant clashing of creeds that spring up around us, each claiming a superior excellence and approving itself, not to reason, but to sentimentalism or sensationalism.

As Christianity may not yet have assumed its purest form, so its destiny may not have yet been accomplished for this world. Ages of splendour await its triumph over

the imperfect forms, in which its divine nature has been invested by its mortal and fallible recipients. This triumph may be accelerated by correspondence with its sacred principles, or retarded by nonconformity with its pure doctrines. The accidental, the temporary, the transitory may shift and vary, as it evidently has done in its historic progress, but the immutable spirit and undying truth ever advancing the welfare and enlightenment of our race, shall ultimately put on the brilliant garb in which perfect religion will beautify the nations. This will happen when worship and civilization—its twofold object—shall have attained their climax on the scene of this world.

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- ART. III—1. *Historical Disquisition on the Game of Chess.* By DAINES BARRINGTON. London.  
 2. *Le Palamède ; Revue Mensuelle.* Paris.  
 3. *The Chess-Player's Handbook.* By HOWARD STAUNTON. London.  
 4. *Encyclopædia des Echecs, &c.* Par M. ALEXANDRE. Paris.

THE influence of habit is more potent for good or evil than even the most thoughtful generally suppose, and it is almost needless to say, that in proportion as a habit is attractive its power increases. In youth it is so great that few can entirely emancipate themselves from its control. And experience shows but too plainly that it is not what is most useful that is most attractive, but generally the reverse. Far be it from us to maintain, however, that we should have utility in view in all our actions; we would not have the bow always bent, but would allow it sufficient relaxation. No one who understands physiology is opposed to rational amusement; we require no sages to assure us that it produces a salutary effect on both mind and body.

It should be remembered, at the same time, that amusement, like many other things that are useful and good in moderation, becomes a vice when carried to excess. This is particularly true of the kind of amusement afforded by gaming in any form. Nor does chess-playing form an exception. We are quite aware that by finding fault with chess we shall displease many; but it is precisely because such large numbers devote so much of their valuable time to that game at the present day that we take up the subject for discussion. Did we consult our own interests, we



would praise the improved tastes of the increasing thousands who devote so large a proportion of their time to the chess-board ; we would say that more is to be learned from it than from the best books, and that, accordingly, those who attend our libraries or reading-rooms had better take up the chess-board than any printed volume, ancient or modern. Nor should we confine ourselves to this ; we should regard a chess victory as of greater importance than any discovery in chemistry or astronomy.

Instead of all this, however, we take the liberty of thinking that the prevailing passion for chess-playing in this country at the present moment, is not at all creditable to our civilization. But let us not be misunderstood. We do not think there is any harm in playing a game of chess ; we should think nothing the less of a gentleman or lady for playing a game occasionally. But when we see one or the other occupied at the chess-board from five to eight hours daily, or nightly, we cannot help thinking that there is something wrong ; and we think the aspect of the case grows worse when the devotees of the game are not only permitted to fritter away their time in this way at our public libraries and reading-rooms, but are afforded every inducement to prefer playing to reading.

We confess that we have seldom been more surprised than we have at a recent sight of this kind. It would be invidious to mention the public library to which we allude, since we find it is by no means peculiar in that respect, although perhaps in no similar institution could we find so large a number of persons engaged for hours in playing chess ; and for every one that played there were at least half a dozen of lookers-on who seemed to be very nearly if not quite as much excited by the progress of the game as the players themselves. But to us the worst feature of the scene was that three-fourths of those thus occupied were youths ; quite a considerable portion were students or school-boys, who found it much more agreeable to play chess than to study either science or language. Although we have taken some pains to ascertain the fact, it is almost superfluous to say that they are by no means the best or most intelligent students, who are the most skilful chess-players, but almost universally the reverse. The one who gains the most victories on the chess-board is pretty sure to be a bad translator, nor is he much more likely to be above the bottom of his class in mathematics, much stress as the votaries of the game lay on its quasi-scientific character.

Yet if we are correctly informed—and we have no reason to doubt the veracity of our correspondents—the game has been introduced into many of our colleges and academies. We certainly have never seen students playing chess in any college or seminary, although we have visited many and been afforded opportunities in several instances of making ourselves familiar with the personal habits and tastes of the students. But the same is true of billiard playing; we have never to this day seen the game played in any literary institution. For this reason we refused to believe that it was one of the sciences upon which most attention was bestowed at certain institutions. At worst, thought we, the students play an occasional game in some dark corner of the college; surely the faculty would not connive at what all must admit to be a species of gaming; much less would it encourage it. We persisted in taking this view of the case until we saw it proved beyond all question, that the worst we had heard on the subject was but too true. Nay, the worst remained to be proclaimed through the public journals by the professors themselves, who in their devotion to the game forgot, as our readers may remember, that there were some of the parents and guardians of those placed in their charge to be educated, who might prefer some other science to that of billiard playing. But were it necessary to choose between billiards and chess, as a branch of college study alternating with theology and the humanities, we certainly would recommend the former game before the latter on account of the physical exercise it affords.

It is curious enough that one of the principal arguments in favour of making all the rising generation chess-players is that the game is very ancient. We cheerfully admit that it is; nay, we will take occasion to show that it is of a higher antiquity than the most zealous of its admirers have the hardihood to claim. In the mean time we may remark, that if we were to adopt a habit, or practice, merely because it was popular some hundreds or even thousands of years ago, we should adopt a good many. If we ought to play chess because the ancient Greeks and Romans, and even the Egyptians and Hindoos, did so, ought we not also, in order to be consistent, do many other things which the same nations did? The ancients worshipped a great many gods and goddesses; sometimes they worshipped the most loathsome of the lower animals. This may, therefore, be regarded as highly

classical; but ought we revive the practice on that account.\*

We now proceed to inquire how ancient the game of chess is, but we do not do so for the purpose of finding any argument either against the practice of the game at the present day, or in favour of it, but simply as we would take up any other historical subject, and make such remarks upon it as we might deem interesting to our readers, bearing in mind that there are many things useless in themselves, or merely imaginary, which it may not only be agreeable but instructive to discuss.

Chess-players in general are content to trace back the game of chess to the Greeks. There is no doubt that the Greeks were acquainted with it; but so far as can be inferred from any record of the subject, they were by no means the best class of the Greeks who practised the game. So early as Homer's time chess was played, but generally if not invariably by those who had nothing more useful to occupy their minds. We have an interesting illustration of this in the case of the idle persons who had no more noble object than to seduce the good and virtuous Penelope from her allegiance to her husband, evidently not because they had any love for a matron of her time of life, but because the wife of Ulysses had an estate which was worth possessing. It seems their habit was to sit on the skins of oxen before the door of Penelope's palace, passing the time in playing chess. We think we see them now in the spirited picture drawn of them by Homer:—

Εὔρε δ' ἄρα μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας· οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα  
Πεσσοῖσι προπαροῖθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτρεπον,  
Ἥμενοι ἐν βίνοισι βῶν, οὐδ' ἔκρανον αὐτοί.†

The character of the party is sufficiently described by the poet in the two words *μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας*, which, being

\* There is an institution in the interior of New Jersey, which we are informed has established a "chair," or at least a stool for chess, because the faculty think it *aristocratic* as well as useful. It is true that the establishment alluded to is called a *college* only by courtesy; and that if it teaches chess no better than it does other sciences, or even the English language, not to mention Greek or Latin, its chess graduates will not gain many victories in their mimic battles. It is recorded of Philip II., of Spain, that he rewarded a famous chess-player with the mitre for his skill in a certain victory that he gained, but we would not advise the President of the Jersey school to which we allude, to calculate too confidently on a reward of this kind, for we have to add that the Pope refused to recognize the new bishop. The judgment of his Holiness was very brief, but not the less final:—" *Bonus aleator dominus, fortasse, est, sed pessimus episcopus.*" "The gentleman is a good gamester perhaps, but a very bad bishop."

† Od., i., 107.

freely translated into our vernacular, would mean "impudent loafers," and as such were they treated by Ulysses. Incensed at their base conduct, the hero attacked a whole mob of them, and with only the aid of his son and two servants, killed all.\*

This is the most ancient mention we have in Greek literature of the game of chess, or its votaries; and it is difficult to see that it confers any glory on either. Plato alludes to the game in his *Phædra*; and we infer from a line in Sophocles that the game was invented by Palamedes. Several of the Roman writers speak of the game, especially Ovid† and Martial;‡ but even the author of the *Art of Love* was not much enamoured of the game.

As for the moralists and philosophers, they have denounced it as a vice, and as such the satirists have ridiculed those who were addicted to it. "I cautiously avoid a proud guest," says Juvenal, "who compares me with himself, and looks with scorn upon my paltry estate. Consequently, I don't possess a single ounce of ivory; neither my *chess-board* nor my men are of this material; nay, the very handles of my knives are of bone. Yet my viands never become rank in flavour by these; nor does my pullet cut up the worse on that account."§

A little further on in the same satire, the poet ranks gaming of all kinds among the worst vices, and suggests that there are other diversions much more suitable for intelligent men and women than games of any kind. "Gaming is disgraceful," he says, "and so is adultery in men of moderate means. Yet when rich men commit all these abominations they are called jovial, splendid fellows. Our banquet to-day will furnish *far different amusements. The author of the Iliad shall be recited and the majestic strains of Virgil.* What matter is it with what voice such noble verses are read?"||

This shows what the cultivated Pagans thought on the

\* Od., lib. xxii., 385. † Trist., ii., 477; xvi., 20. ‡ See also Seneca, *Epit.* 107.

§

Adeo nulla uncia nobis  
Est eboris, nec tessellæ, nec calculus ex hac  
Materia; quin ipsa manubria cultellorum  
Ossea.—*Sat. xi.*, v. 132.

||

Alea turpis,  
Turpe et adulterium mediocribus: hæc eadem illi  
Omnia quum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur.  
Nostra dabunt alio hodie convivia ludos:  
Conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis  
Altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.—*Sat. xi.*, v. 174.

subject; and we, in passing, ask our presidents of colleges and superintendents of libraries whether they were right or wrong?

It is certain that neither among the Greeks nor among the Romans did the more thoughtful and educated class occupy their time in chess-playing. The game was played by the middle and lower classes, and by the wealthy, whose chief object, like that of the "shoddy" gentry of our own day, was to kill time.

Nor has the experience of modern times been different, as we will presently show. Sometimes, indeed, kings and emperors have played chess, but have not those personages done many other things which did no service to themselves or their subjects? Before making any inquiry into the character of the sovereigns who are mentioned by the votaries of chess, as having honoured the game by their practice, we will say a word or two more of its antiquity, if only to gratify those who are so proud when they happen to checkmate an antagonist.

Archæologists are pretty generally of opinion at the present day that Egyptian civilization is more ancient than Hindoo civilization. The colossal tombs of Egypt are doubtless the most ancient monuments now extant in a form sufficiently well preserved to enable us to regard them as a criterion of the civilization of those who built them, and the paintings on several of these represent persons employed in playing chess. But it will be sufficient to refer to one. There is a painting on a papyrus, taken in 1832, from one of those tombs, in the Museum of Antiquities at Leyden, which represents a man as playing alone with all the paraphernalia of the game before him. This is supposed by the best judges to be two thousand years old; but several of the mural paintings representing the same game are at least a thousand years older; yet no older, be it observed, than those which represent different other games, including ball-playing, hurling, hide-and-go-seek, &c., &c.

Among the most learned English writers on the subject of chess are Hyde, Barrington, and Sir William Jones. Hyde and Sir William, concur in giving the honour of priority to the Hindoos, from whom, they tell us, the Persians adopted the game nearly six hundred years before our era.\* There was no better authority in his time on Hindoo affairs than Sir William Jones, who

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\* *Vide* Historia Shahiludū apud Syntagma Dissertationum, &c.

fully corroborates the views of Hyde. "If evidence were required," he says, "to prove this fact [the Hindoo origin of the game], we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians, who though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west of India in the sixth century of our era. It seems to have been immemorially known to Hindoostans by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four angas, or members of an army; which are these, elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers; and in this sense the word is frequently used by epic poets in their descriptions of real armies."\*

Daines Barrington is equally decided in claiming the honour of the invention for the Chinese; and it must be admitted that he adduces plausible if not conclusive arguments in support of his views.† He was well acquainted with the researches of both Hyde and Sir William Jones; he treats both much better than antagonists treat each other generally. At the same time, he shows pretty clearly that both are wrong; but if the monuments of Egypt possess the antiquity which is now almost universally ascribed to them by antiquaries, Barrington himself is also wrong. Mr. Eyles Irwin, who spent many years in China, comes to the aid of Barrington, maintaining, in a letter to the Earl of Charlemont, that there is a Chinese manuscript which shows that the game was invented by King Kianguan, three hundred and seventy-nine years after the time of Confucius, nearly two thousand years ago. Assuming that this is a genuine manuscript, and that the game was known to the Chinese at this remote period, we should, nevertheless, consider the Egyptian claim of priority the best founded.

The justice of this will be the more apparent if we bear in mind that in point of fact, the Egyptians make no claim; they allow their works to speak for them. In other words, the Egyptian race—those who built the pyramids—entirely disappeared many centuries ago. They are as completely extinct as the Chaldeans or the Phœnicians, although their stupendous monuments may be expected to endure as long as the earth itself. But it is different with the Hindoos as well as the Chinese. Both are essentially the same races to-day, respectively, they

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\* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii., p. 120.† Vide *Archæologia*, vol. ix.

were two or three thousand years ago. Each has the same religion, and nearly the same manners and customs ; it is natural, therefore, that they should be anxious to claim for their ancestors the invention of whatever they think calculated to show that they were an ingenious people.

At first sight, it might be inferred from these various researches, theories, and hypotheses, that the game of chess must be an important affair, but this by no means follows. Many a grave and learned treatise has been written on fairies and genii, both in the East and in the West, although scarcely any believe any longer that such beings as either ever existed. That the writing of elaborate works on any thing is no proof of its utility, but often the reverse, is easily proved. Thus, for example, all civilized countries regard war as a calamity, but there is no subject upon which more is written. None can pretend that the plague is useful or respectable ; yet vastly more has been written upon it than upon chess or any other game. So much, then, for the argument that if chess were not a useful, honorable, and aristocratic study, so much would not have been written upon it.

But let us give some particulars as to the class of persons who admire chess. It is certain, as we have already seen, that the higher orders of intellect have never been addicted to the game. Some great geniuses have, indeed, tried it, but soon shunned it as a pernicious vice. The greatest of English philosophers have given it some attention ; the author of the *Novum Organum* was induced by some friends to learn chess, but he found it was "too wise a game," and that he should choose between being a great chess-player and a great philosopher. Sir Walter Scott shunned the game for a similar reason, declaring that "one might learn another language in a shorter time, and with less strain on the mind than he could learn the game of chess." He thought that at best those who indulged in it made bad use of their time ; and who will deny the fact ? Had he become a great chess-player, or had he become a lover of the game, he never could have written the *Waverley* novels.

Milton and Pope rejected the game, for similar reasons. The author of *Paradise Lost* thought it was fit only for women, or weak men ; the author of the *Essay on Man* said, he would much rather play "nine-pins" than chess, for the former would afford him wholesome exercise, while the latter would injure the body as well

as the mind. Fond as Dean Swift was of fun, no one could induce him to occupy one hour of his time at chess.

And if we turn our attention to the great thinkers of other countries, we shall find that they were, if possible, still more opposed to the game. Gay and often reckless as Voltaire was, he shunned chess; it was a favourite saying of his, that it was an occupation suitable only for those who, having no ideas, could not keep themselves from sleeping even in the midst of lively company without playthings. Montaigne does not degrade the game quite so much as this, but he very unequivocally condemns it. We have remarked, in a preceding page, that some claim that chess is a noble pastime, because great kings and conquerors have been addicted to it. Montaigne shows that becoming intoxicated might be regarded as a noble pastime, on the same ground. "Why," says the philosopher, "should not I judge Alexander, roaring and drinking at the rate he sometimes used to do? Or, if he played at chess, what string of his soul was not touched by this *idle and childish game*? I hate and avoid it, because it is not play enough—that it is too grave and serious a diversion; and I am *ashamed* to lay out as much *thought and study upon that* as would serve to much better uses. He did not more pump his brains about his glorious expedition into the Indies; and another, that I will not name, took not more pains to unravel a passage upon which depends the safety of all mankind. To what a degree, then, does *this ridiculous diversion* molest the soul, when all her faculties shall be summoned together upon this trivial account? And how fair an opportunity she herein gives every one to know, and to make a right judgment of, himself? I do not more thoroughly sift myself in any other posture than this. What *passion* are we exempted from in this *insignificant game*? *Anger, spite, malice, impatience, and a vehement desire of getting the better in a matter wherein it were more excusable to be ambitious of being overcome*; for to be eminent and to excel above the common rate in frivolous things is nothing becoming in a man of quality and honour."\*

There are many instances of promising young men having been diverted from an honourable career by chess-playing. Suffice it to mention Philador, who, before he

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\* Montaigne's Essays, vol. i., p. 439.



had devoted himself to the game of chess, had attained considerable celebrity as a composer ; he destroyed his prospects in life by becoming addicted to chess-playing, as effectually as if he had addicted himself to intoxication.

If it be true, as we are told by the admirers of the game, that kings indulge in it, who can afford better to spend their time idly ? Besides, all writers on the subject agree, that if the game was not discovered by a king, it was discovered for him, in order that he might learn from it how to gain victories ; although it may well be doubted whether a real victory has ever been gained by means of chess-playing. Those curious enough to examine history for information on the subject, will find that they were the most stupid kings who had most confidence in chess—kings who were fit for nothing better than children's play. Gibbon gives us a striking illustration of this in his account of the conduct of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus towards the Caliph Al Rashid. The degenerate Greek fancying that he could frighten the caliph by reminding him that he was well skilled in the game of chess, writes to him as follows : "The queen (he meant Irene) considered me as a *rook* and herself as a *pawn*. That pusillanimous *female* submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." Having delivered this fine message, the ambassadors of the emperor cast a bundle of swords before the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his famous sword, *sansamah*, cut the Greek swords to pieces, and then dictated an epistle of characteristic brevity to the emperor, concluding with the following ominous words : "Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." \*

It does not appear that the caliph knew any thing about chess, whereas Nicephorus had gained many a victory in the mimic field. But on the real field the state of facts was reversed. The chess-warrior brought ruin on himself by his foolish threat. "The progress of desolation by sea and land," says the historian, "from the Euxine to the Isle of Cyprus compelled the Emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In this new treaty, the ruins of Heraclea were left forever as a lesson and a

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\* Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp., vol. v., p. 309, Harpers' 12mo edit.

trophy, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.”\*

Sometimes, too, kings and princes have become valiant over the chess-board, whose valour has not been noticed anywhere else. Thus we are told by Carte, the historian, that, before his accession to the throne of England, Henry I. engaged in a chess-match with Louis le Gros, son to Philip of France, at the court of the latter. Chess was played for money in 1087, as it is now, though, perhaps, not so often. At all events, Louis lost five or six games, and with them his temper; he threw the chess-men at Henry's head. Henry gave Louis a violent blow with the chess-board, in return, knocking him down; and the historian tells us that he would have killed him, had not Henry's brother Robert interposed.

Many similar instances might be given; and many players, of less illustrious rank than kings or princes, actually beat each others' brains out over the chess-board. Through the same influence, the most devoted friends have become irreconcilable enemies. Nor have the chess battles been always regarded as merely the efforts of individuals. Like the pugilists, the chess-players have had their national champions. We remember ourselves when Mr. Staunton was the champion of England, and, for aught we know, he still occupies the same proud position. The last international battle in which he was engaged, so far as we are informed, was that with M. St. Amant—the latter being the champion of France. The battles between the two champions have found several zealous historians, the majority of whom publish all the correspondence regulating the preliminaries. Mr. Bryan tells us, in a very curious pamphlet,† that in November, 1843, Mr. Staunton went over to Paris to play his first international match, accompanied by his two *seconds*, both enthusiastic amateurs. The first winner of eleven games was to be declared the conqueror. Mr. Staunton had scored ten when his adversary had won but two, and, under the same circumstances, might have been safely backed at any odds to secure one of the next two games, and consequently the match. But one of his seconds had to return to England. In his absence he became somewhat discouraged, and lost four games more before he gained the one which

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\* *Ib.*, vol. v., p. 310.

† *Historique de la Lutte entre l'Éditeur du Palamède, Journal Français, et l'Éditeur du Chess-Player's Chronicle, Journal Anglais.* Paris, chez C. Tresse.

decided the match. The English champion was, however, victorious, according to the conditions of the match, and France had to mourn another Waterloo. Every excuse was made by his countrymen for the defeated champion. He was out of practice, and not quite as well in health as usual, whereas the British champion had been training for months, and was in perfect condition. The evidence of all this, it was proclaimed, was overwhelming. "Des centaines de séances, des milliers de parties sont là pour l'attester." The English, upon the other hand, were not backward in celebrating the praises of their victorious champion; but before all was over there were more than one real fight which resulted from the mimic contest. One of the contestants had his nose mutilated; another had his eye permanently injured; and another complained to the police that he lost his purse in the *mêlée*, and was unable to return to England. These unpleasant results were attributed to certain incendiary articles which appeared in the *Palamède*, the French chess organ. We quote a specimen of one of these articles verbatim, for it would be spoiled by translation:—

"Rappelons alors à l'Angleterre que St. Amant ne se regarde pas comme battu; (!) qu'à son tour il se propose de demander une revanche; que St. Amant reçoit Pion et deux Traits de M. Des Chappelles. Rappelons lui, enfin, à cette orgueilleuse Albion, que les dieux de l'Olympe faisaient payer cher aux mortels la nécessité d'abandonner leurs célestes demeures!"

Of course, all men of sense on both sides of the Channel, who took any notice of the affair, only laughed at the foolishness of the international chess-men. In short, the affair created so much ridicule, that the most enthusiastic of the contestants got so much ashamed that they passed a resolution not to engage in any international matches in future. Whether they abstained accordingly or not we cannot say; but certain it is that we have never heard of any subsequent combat either mimic or real between the chess-players of France and England.

It might seem from these Anglo-Gallic matches, that it is the most enlightened countries that pay most attention to chess; but in general, the reverse of this is the fact. Any of our readers can easily ascertain for himself that in proportion as nations have become enlightened, on being acquainted with chess, have they discarded the game. In the middle ages it flourished in Italy, but the intellectual development to which the Medici family contributed

so much, soon brought chess into disrepute. It was not chess or any other species of gambling that occupied the thoughts of Dante, or Ariosto, Angelo, or Raphael.

It was not to instruct the Italians in the game of chess, that Leo X. invited the literary and scientific men of every country in Europe to Rome, and freely shared his comparatively slender income with all who were willing to aid him in the great work he had so much at heart; on the contrary, it was to give them a taste for nobler pursuits, and that it had this effect is well known. Previous to the time of Leo X., the Italians of all grades had occupied themselves with the game of chess since its importation from Turkey by the Crusaders; but the famous players of Italy now turned their attention to Spain, where the game soon became nearly as popular as bull-fighting.

But it is a great mistake to suppose that the Italians went on their gaming tours to Spain merely for the love of the game; their chief object was to make money. First, they gave instructions in chess-playing, and then played with their wealthy pupils for large sums. Considerable numbers had been ruined by this means, when the works of Cervantes, Calderon, De Vega, &c., turned the attention of the better classes to nobler objects; but then in a very few years the game fell into disuse, except among the lower orders, nor has it ever been revived since.

The game was introduced into England during the Heptarchy. Gale tells us that when Bishop Ætheric obtained admission to King Canute, about midnight, he found his majesty and his courtiers busily engaged at chess and dice.\* The game became nearly as popular in England as it was in Italy and Spain; but its popularity finally yielded to the same influence, *i. e.*, in proportion as literature was cultivated the chess-board was set aside, or transferred to the servants of its former votaries.

Several of the kings of England have, indeed, been addicted to chess-playing. But which of them? Certainly not William the Conqueror, Edward III., or William III. Elizabeth thought it much more profitable, and more interesting withal, to read Sophocles or Æschylus in the original, than to play chess. Upon the other hand, King John (Lackland), who had neither intellect, nor knowledge, nor courage, was a famous chess-player. Charles I. played chess in his camp while within an hour's march

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\* *Vide* Gale's edition of *Hist. Ramsiensis*, c. 86.

of Cromwell's army, and gained numerous victories on the chess-board. His majesty was deeply absorbed in a game of chess, in which he was likely to be the victor, when the messenger arrived with the news that the Scotch had sold him to his enemies for a specified sum, and that he was to be delivered up to Cromwell's army in a few days.

In short, not one of the great thinkers of England, or, indeed, of any other country, has been addicted to chess. Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Addison, Grattan, and Peel, had each their faults; nearly all were occasionally intemperate, but none were so foolish as to devote the fine powers nature had given them to the mimic conflicts of the chess-board. Cowper, the poet, was assured by some friends, while subject to those fits of insanity that embittered the later years of his life, that he would derive much benefit from the game, if he would study it carefully. His reply is worthy of his genius. As it is also worthy the attention of all who have any doubt of the pernicious influence of chess-playing, we transcribe the following lines from his highly graphic and truthful description:—

“ Who, then, that has a mind well strung and tuned  
To contemplation, and within his reach  
A scene so friendly to his favourite task,  
Would *waste attention* at the chequered board,  
His host of wooden warriors to and fro  
Marching and countermarching, with an eye  
As fixed as marble, with a forehead ridged  
And furrowed into storms, and with a hand  
Trembling, as if eternity were hung  
In balance on his *conduct of a pin!* ”

It will be admitted we have shown, in this brief and rapid sketch, that the greatest philosophers, historians, poets, satirists, and thinkers in general, ancient and modern, have been opposed to chess-playing. They have opposed the practice because they knew how much precious time it would consume, altogether independently of its pernicious influence in producing other vicious habits; and we are glad to add that they have not done so in vain.

In proof of this it would be almost sufficient to ask what nations pay most attention to chess at the present day? Is it the English, the French, or the Germans? Certainly not. It is the Turks and the Russians. This is no mere assertion; it is a fact with which every one who has travelled is familiar, and which all can ascertain

by very little research and inquiry. The lower orders of the Turks or Russians are not content to play discreetly in their tents, but in every large Turkish and Russian city groups of them eagerly pressing around the chess-board may be seen in almost every back street and dirty lane, often completely blocking up the passage, so that the police have to interfere. Many of the butchers, shoemakers, and hod-carriers who form these motley groups, whether at Constantinople or Moscow, understand the game much more thoroughly than those who practise at our reading-rooms, libraries, and even colleges.

Now, are the Turks and the Russians the two nations whose manners and customs, above all others, we should imitate? Does it become us to revive what Italians, Spanish, French, and English rejected many centuries ago as incompatible with the cultivation of the intellect and the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge? In every country the game will always be played to a greater or less extent by a certain class. There is no reason why it should not be played in this country as well as elsewhere by the idle and thoughtless. We would not write one line to prevent this, being quite aware that we might as well try to prove that no American citizen, native or naturalized, should ever again get intoxicated, swear, or chew tobacco, after a particular date.

What we protest against is the false and ridiculous pretension that the game of chess is aristocratic and classical, and consequently that it may be encouraged, if not directly taught even in our colleges. We are well aware that no college worthy of the name admits the chess-board as belonging to its curriculum; none do so that are of a higher grade than second or third rate boys' schools, which call themselves colleges, the same as it is the fashion at the present day for the most ignorant hod-carrier one meets to call himself a gentleman.

It is very safe to conclude that professors who encourage chess-playing, or any other species of gambling, which serves at best as an introduction to the bar-room, are not educated themselves, but that conscious of their ignorance and inability, they try to render themselves popular with the boys by pandering to their gambling propensities. We would not have such professors kicked and buffeted to death like the suitors of Penelope, nor would we have them tossed in a blanket like Sancho Panza, but we would certainly have their establishments shunned by all parents who set any value on the education of their sons.

- ART. IV. 1. *The Lectures of Sir William Hamilton.* London.  
 2. *The Metaphysics of Aristotle.*  
 3. *Essay on the Intellectual Faculties of Man.* REID.  
 4. *Leçons sur la philosophie Kant.* COUSIN.  
 5. *Essai sur l'origine des Connaissances Humaines.* CONDILLAC.

EVERY one asks, what is pure reason? Most men put the question as Pilate asked of Jesus, "What is truth?" and turn away, not pausing for an answer. Of those who inquire earnestly, and with a sincere desire to receive a true answer, very few obtain what they desire. It is easy for one who is affluent of words, and gifted with a fruitful and discursive imagination, to essay an answer to this or any other conceivable question; to veil undefined ideas under the showy folds of gorgeous imagery, to dazzle the fancy with brilliant generalities, or confound the judgment under a mass of inconsequent aphorisms. To such intellectual pyrotechnics, flashing upon us, like mimic sunlight, from the illuminati of our American Orient, we are all accustomed; yet many, it must be confessed, would prefer to all this the pure radiance of simple truth. When the writer was a lad, he was one evening holding a light for a man who was performing a piece of difficult work. Finding that the light was not held in a proper position, the workman said:—"Hold the light so that *you* can see my work, and then *I* shall be able to see it." With a similar idea in mind, the present purpose of the writer is, to define pure reason, as it appears to his own mental perception; and enable the reader to view the subject in the same light with himself, and from the same stand-point. If the reader shall think that the argument wants lucidness, it is hoped that he will not deny to it the merit of compactness, as well as brevity; and if he shall be inclined to complain that the style of the discussion is wanting in grace and vivacity, the only apology is, that a severe simplicity of style is most appropriate to discussions of this character.

Whoever attentively studies the operations of the human mind, especially while it is employed in attempts to solve the recondite problems of the higher philosophies, will not fail to encounter the often mooted question, whether the mind is really endowed with such a faculty as that called pure reason, whereby the quality of truth may be determined perceptively, and independently

of the reasoning process termed ratiocination. This question is only to be properly determined by considering maturely the nature of the mental faculties, their capabilities, and in what manner their operations are performed, and from these premises deducing the principles and laws in conformity with which their functions are exercised.

The task before us will be rendered comparatively easy, if we first consider that there is an analogy between the perceptive faculties and those which are called conceptive, and that what is commonly termed conception is only another name for perception, though of another kind from that which is peculiar to our organs of sense; that, while we have organs by which we perceive the existence and qualities of those external objects which are material, we have, also, faculties by which we perceive the existence and qualities of entities that are immaterial, yet equally actual with those that are palpable to our physical senses. That we have spiritual faculties of simple perception, will appear probable to all. We are conscious that our minds take cognizance not only of thought and affection in the abstract, but of particular thoughts and affections; and although we know them to be only immaterial entities, we never doubt the reality of their existence, any more than we doubt the existence of material objects.

Carrying this analogy one grade further, we are aware that for every external physical sense there are in the world of matter corresponding entities, and it follows, if the analogy holds good, that for every spiritual sense there are corresponding immaterial entities. The deduction to be drawn from this statement will be perceived to be of the utmost consequence, when we consider what are the faculties of the human mind and the subjects of which they are capable of taking cognizance. We know that thoughts, affections, moral qualities, and ideas, are entities, and we know this only by a direct mental perception, entirely distinct from that we have of material entities and their qualities; and that it is just as impossible for us to perceive the former by means of sight, hearing, or feeling, as it is for our moral perceptions to discover to us material objects and their properties. It is, therefore, by our internal consciousness that we discover the actual existence and different functions of these two kinds of perception. There is, common to our faculties of perception, by which we take cognizance of things material and of those that are immaterial, an instinct of activity, by which they seek for objects upon which to



act. Where this instinct manifests itself with extraordinary energy, if the faculty is one of the class which we designate as knowing faculties, we call it curiosity, or thirst for knowledge: or, if it be of the class of affectional faculties, we call it sensibility, or feeling, and by so doing recognize its analogy to the faculties of the physical senses.

In addition to the power of perception, all these faculties of the mind have a function of rumination, by which, dwelling upon and digesting ideas in the mind, as substances are macerated and digested in the alembic of the chemist, from the bringing together of several ideas a new and composite idea is produced, somewhat analogous to the *tertium quid* of the chemists. This function of the mental faculties is called reflection.

One faculty of the mind perceives causes and effects, or the relation of causation: this is, pre-eminently, the reasoning faculty. It is well to consider carefully the nature of this faculty, for on it, and its functional office, the whole argument hinges. Causation has been loosely defined as an order of sequence. To determine the fallacy in this definition it is only necessary to consider a single cause and its sequences; and if any of these sequences have direct and positive relation to this cause and other sequences have not, but are dependent on other causes, wholly or in part, then the consequences of an action are not always necessarily caused by it. Undoubtedly, effects are sequents of causes. A man may plunge his hand into a heated liquid, and it shall be burned; again, a man may perform the same act, but no burning of the hand results. In the first case, it would commonly be said the burning was the effect of thrusting the hand into the heated mass; but the second sequence proves that the alleged cause was inadequate to the effect, but that the burning was the result of the action of the hot mass upon the flesh of the hand, which, in the second instance, was prevented by covering the hand with a substance which hindered the caloric of the fluid from acting on the hand. Here we see that the cause of an effect must have a certain positive relation to it, in the very nature of things, and that without this relation a sequence may be entirely fortuitous. If we see a fox cross the road, and presently a hound follows in the same direction, we say that the fox runs because the dog is pursuing him; but if a hound crosses the road, and presently a fox follows, we instantly perceive that the sequence is fortuitous, and that, in the

nature of things, the relation of causation is wanting. Wherefore we conclude that sequence, or order of sequence, is an imperfect and inexact definition of causation; and that, while an effect is always, philosophically, sequent of its cause, there is besides sequence a relation, in the nature of things, between them, such as we recognize between an actor and his act, and not merely such as exists between an act and its possible consequences. If it be said, "God said 'let light be,' and light was," an unreasoning intelligence will perceive that one event succeeded the other, and nothing more; the reasoning faculty alone can perceive the relation of the fiat to the fact, and that the one was the cause of the other. The idea of this relation is, then, essential to the idea of causes and effects as such, and we must therefore conclude that a consciousness of both the nature and relation of cause and effect constitutes the simple and perceptive function of this faculty, as distinct from its ruminant or reflective function. *This perceptive function, independently of ratiocination, by syllogistic or mathematical methods, constitutes, so far as this faculty, considered by itself, is concerned, the element of pure reason.* Unreasoning brutes perceive sequences and bear them in remembrance, as, for example, that when they hear a certain call and go to their cribs they find food there, or if they do certain acts the whip of the master scourges them; but of the relation of causation existing in the nature of things, they have no conception; this last being the prerogative of man.

To more clearly define the nature and function of the faculty of reason, it becomes desirable to regard it in its relation to the other faculties of the mind. Reason is not an affection, such as love or hate, nor does it take direct or perceptive cognizance of the moral quality of actions, yet its relation to the other faculties is intimate and consequential. Conscience, as we universally agree, alone takes cognizance of moral quality. In the instance of any human act, tried in the court of conscience, the perceptions testify to the facts, reason determines the relation of cause and effect between the intention of the agent and the consequences of his act, and then the moral sense is competent to rightly determine the moral quality of the action. All decisions of conscience concerning the moral quality of actions, that are unsupported by reason, are unadvised and liable to be erroneous. The functions of moral sense and reason are, however, as distinct as those

of the eye and the ear. Again, there is in the mind a religious faculty, the faculty of adoration. This faculty, equally with the moral sense, is distinct from reason; yet, like the moral sense, it is dependent upon reason for the right direction of its exercise. Left to itself, it gropes blindly towards the divine, discerning, indeed, its quality, but uncertain of its fact, and, often seizing upon objects unworthy of its highest exercise, pays to them the homage due to God alone. We shall see how reason aids the religious faculty.

Reason, instinctively casting its regards abroad throughout creation, finds it filled with effects; discovers, indeed, that all things are effects. Searching to find the causes of these effects, it finds innumerable causes for parts of them, and finds, also, that these causes are themselves effects. Following these chains of effects, proper and causative effects, to their ultimate, it arrives at the conclusion that all things are effects, and that the cause of these effects must be infinite, and therefore one. Reason of itself cannot regard the Deity in any other sense than that of an infinite cause, the ultimate of all actual and possible causes. This result pure reason arrives at, not by process of ratiocination, but instinctively and perceptively. The reasoning man, who attempts to bring the reason of other men to the same conclusion, is, however, compelled to perform this fact by a process of ratiocination.

This we must conceive to be the true theory of pure reason, stripped of the drapery of mysticism in which pedants have enshrouded it. It lifts alike the soul of the peasant and the philosopher, the shepherd and the prelate, up to the knowledge of the very God, and points the adoring faculty to the true and only worthy object of its worship. From this summit of wisdom, the just ideas of the economy of divine providence, and of the moral laws of the universe, flow downwards in streams of synthesis, to inform, refresh, and invigorate the souls of men. The moral, rational, and religious faculties, which not only distinguish man from the brute creation, but constitute for him an entity as a moral being, distinct from his animal nature, are the eyes and ears of his understanding, by means of which he receives inspirations and spiritual suggestions, and through which he offers worship and supplication and derives consolations, and becomes likewise participant of the divine love and wisdom.

Here we have a solution of the mystery of the Divine

in the human. The human is receptive of the divine, when the superior faculties of the former are open to its access, as naturally as a flower is supplied with the dew and rain of heaven when it opens its thirsty calyx to receive them.

The mind of man, elevated by pure reason to a knowledge of the Divine, afterwards deduces divine laws and truths from this fountain-head by syllogistic ratiocination. Tracing down, link by link, the chain of reason, he finds that it extends to the minutest, and even through the minutest objects of creation, to the most stupendous and sublime, and at every step of his explorations, if the faculties of his soul are developed harmoniously, he will find his conceptions of the infinite wisdom constantly enlarging, and his soul more and more filled with awe and the spirit of worship; and this sense of the infinite majesty would overwhelm his weak faculties, if he did not, at the same time, bear in mind the truth that the Divine love and condescension are likewise infinite.

In proportion as man comes into the divine, in the same degree he becomes possessed of the divine ideas; and, to this extent, when he contemplates the creation, he sees it, as it were, with the eyes of God. Thus seeing, he perceives that the Supreme Being regards all his creatures with an equal and infinite love, and man thus learns how it may be possible for himself to become so imbued with the divine spirit, that he shall actually obey the sublime law of love, by, at the same time, loving God with all his soul and his neighbor as himself; which is the perfect fulfilment of that law which Christ declared to be the sum of the divine law.

The foregoing discussion brings into view an important element of the theory of pure reason, namely, the mutual dependence between reason and the other faculties for the exercise of even their perceptive function. We have seen that the moral sense cannot take cognizance of the moral quality of an action, until reason has determined the relation of causation between the intent and the consequence of the act; and, likewise, that the religious faculty seeks blindly and ineffectually towards the divine, until reason finds for it, and discovers to it, the ultimate cause, which, when it perceives, the religious faculty itself discovers to be divine, reason having no proper perception of the divine, as such, but only as a cause. But the function of reason does not stop at the point where it has discovered to the religious faculty the first cause; it has

yet to discover to the moral faculty the characteristics of this self-existent causative entity. To do this, it is necessary for reason to learn from religion the nature of divine quality, and from conscience the nature of moral quality; and of these qualities it must first be informed before it can discuss the laws of religious and moral relation between God and the moral universe, in the same manner in which it must be informed by the faculties appropriate to the physical senses, respecting the nature and qualities of matter, before it can discuss the laws of matter, and the theory of the material universe. Pure reason has received a broader definition than the one we have above given, and has been asserted to be a faculty of the mind, by which it perceives the very truth of things, independent of any process of ratiocination; in other words, it has not been by this latter definition confined to the perceptive function of the rational faculty, but extended equally to the perceptive function of all the faculties of the human mind.

Whether the specific name, pure reason, shall have attached to it the broad and general signification of embracing the perceptive function of all the faculties of the mind, or whether it shall be held to apply only to the perceptive function of the rational faculty, is a question of minor importance, compared to the ascertainment of the direct and relative functions of the faculties of the mind; for this understanding furnishes us with the materials needful for the construction of the true theory of the mind, which must be the corner-stone of mental philosophy; and for want of which many learned and ingenious thinkers have failed in their noble endeavours towards placing the science of mental philosophy on a firm and enduring foundation. It would seem to be most accordant to the idea of philosophical accuracy to confine the term within the narrower limits to which the name itself is alone appropriate. The propriety of this restriction is the more apparent when we reflect that to the exercise of the perceptive function of the faculty of reason we are indebted for the discriminations which the mind instinctively makes between the true and the false, the seeming and the real, in an immense multiplicity of instances. The mind which is deficient in this faculty is constantly exposed to the danger of mistaking sequents for effects, and finds it difficult, even when warned of its error, to discriminate between the two; and hence arise, rather than from wilful perversion, an immense

proportion of the errors and mistakes which constantly disturb the order of society and imperil its welfare. A broad illustration will make this point clear to the most casual observation. A ship goes to sea, on Friday, and is lost. The unreasoning mind of the ignorant sailor never goes farther in accounting for this calamity than to the fact that the vessel sailed on an unlucky day; while reason, discerning that between the two facts no possible relation of causation exists, goes farther in its search for the true occasion of the disaster, and finds, either in the insecurity of the vessel, in its improper management, or in some unforeseen casualty, its certain cause.

The question may arise, Does not the reasoning faculty necessarily carry on a syllogistic process for the purpose of determining that all things in creation are effects, and, likewise, in ascertaining the true cause of these effects? The answer is, not necessarily; for it is to be borne in mind that this faculty alone is capable of discerning effects as such and their relation to causes. While among a multiplicity of causes and effects, a rational process, similar to the mathematical one called *reductio ad absurdum*, may be necessary, in order to determine to which particular cause a certain effect is related, no such difficulty arises in considering creation as a unit, for the faculty of reason instinctively, and *proprio vigore*, discerns whether this entity is an effect or a cause, and having found the effect to be infinite, in extensity, decides that its cause is infinite, and therefore one; which is the sum of our proposition. In this statement of the argument, we have not gone beyond the axioms of mathematics or of logic, and the argument is therefore complete, without ratiocination.

Referring to the foregoing remark, that "the effect" (creation) "is infinite in extensity," it may be proper to more clearly define in what manner the term infinite can be applied to the creation. If it could with truth be affirmed that matter is absolutely infinite, it would follow of necessity that matter could not be an effect, for nothing is beyond infinity, and every effect must have a cause equal to itself; and to say that an effect is infinite, and its cause is also infinite, thereby affirming the existence of two infinities, would be to utter a solecism, which reason abhors. It is necessary, therefore, if the term infinite is applied to an effect, such as creation, that it should be understood only in the qualified sense that the creative cause is infinite *in esse*, while the creation itself

is only infinite *in posse*. The mathematical line called the asymptote is an illustration of infinitive approximation, as distinct from absolute infinity.

The experiments of Professor Plateau, for determining the "figures of equilibrium in a liquid mass withdrawn from the action of gravity," have demonstrated that, in all such figures, excepting the sphere, while their minor axes, or "axes of revolution," are finite, their major axes, or axes of extensity, are "infinite;" that is to say, the figures are capable of infinite extension in one direction, without ever arriving at ultimate and determinate forms, while in the other direction their forms and dimensions are definite. While this ingenious savant disavows all idea that these phenomena, being regulated by the law of molecular attraction, can be regarded as indicative of the laws of equilibrium governing the forms and motions of cosmical bodies, which are subject to the influence of inter-planetary attraction, his statement of the result of his experiments affords a most apt analogy to the idea which reason entertains respecting the created universe; namely, that while it is finite as to the actual dimensions of its particulars, it is infinite in its possible extensity; and, as all things are possible only to what is absolutely infinite, therefore the cause of what is infinite *in posse* must be infinite *in esse*.

If it should be objected that this statement is obnoxious to the liability of involving the solecism of two infinities, the sufficient answer is, that creation, the effect, is but an emanation or product of the cause, which includes within its own infinity all its possible infinite effects, of which the infinite cause is the sum and essence. As, then, all effects, which are all things, are within the infinite, and as pure reason, only, is competent to sweep around the sublime circuit of the universe, and to perceive the infinite, it is the faculty by which the knowledge of all truths is possible to the human mind.

The argument is now complete, as to its main purpose. It remains to consider whether the faculty of reason does not perceptively take cognizance of relation, in general, and of all relations in particular. Each faculty, for itself, takes cognizance of its own relation to that of which it is perceptive: the hearing faculty of its relation to sound, the affections to their objects, adoration to the divine, and the moral sense of its relation to moral actions; but reason has in this regard a wider scope. It is the special function of reason to deal with all questions

of relation, and it must, therefore, be assumed that it perceptively takes cognizance of relation in general, as it does of the relation of causation in particular; but of other relations in particular, it does not necessarily take perceptive cognizance, but deals with them by means of the reasoning process, which is distinct from the perceptive function of the reasoning faculty, and constitutes its ruminative or reflective function.

The mind is enabled by process of reasoning to determine what is true, and to distinguish it from what is false, by demonstrating the fallacy and absurdity of all other conclusions than the true ones.

The proposition that the whole is equal to all its parts is no more self-evident than is the one that two sides of a triangle A, B, C, being given, the third side is A, C; and the proposition—two sides of a triangle and the contained angle being given, to find the third side involves no process of reasoning any more than the two axiomatic ones just given; for the mind instantly perceives that the third side can only be A, C, and that its dimension is simply a matter of mensuration or calculation, involving no process of reasoning whatever. The same is true of a syllogism. That the major and minor involve the conclusion is instantly perceived to be a truism: as, for example, if it be stated that all biped animals, having wings and feathers, are birds; that a turkey is a winged and feathered biped animal, therefore a turkey is a bird; is only equivalent to saying that a bird is a bird. Calling it a turkey, or an owl, makes no difference with the fact of the proposition. The faculty of reason, in all such cases, does not elaborate, it simply perceives. But if the question should be propounded, *aliunde*,—is the bat a bird, or does it belong to some other genus? Numerous questions of fact arise concerning the structure, functions, and habits of this animal, as compared with those of the several animal species to which it may be supposed to be related; questions of adaptation, conformity, &c., in the discussion and resolution of which the reasoning faculty takes part, in common with the observing and knowing faculties. The office of reason, in this and in similar discussions is, to determine the laws of adaptation and relation concerned therein; and the entire proceeding is commonly understood and defined as being a process of reasoning, although other faculties besides that of reason partake therein: and this designation is correct, because the process would be wholly in-



consequent, without the participation of the reasoning faculty.

Every faculty of the mind has a ruminative function. Impressions made upon the mental perceptions after a time lose their vividness, and are said to be forgotten or displaced by more recent impressions; but often, and especially when the faculties are not employed perceptively, they revive ideas before impressed upon them; and reperuse the tablets of memory. The mind resembles a palimpsest from which whatever has been written upon it is never so entirely erased that it may not again become legible, notwithstanding what has subsequently been inscribed on the same surface; and it is believed that no impression once made upon the mind is ever wholly lost, but that the dimmest of former thoughts may be reproduced in their original clearness and vividness. Certain it is, that each faculty, by itself, and especially when stimulated thereto by the sympathetic action of its associate faculties, is capable of recalling an almost endless succession of former thoughts and sensations long forgotten, as well as those that are more recent. This is peculiarly noticeable in dreams, in the day-dreams of the senile, and especially in somnambulism. The reasoning faculty, recalling numerous perceptions of causes and relations, and ruminating upon them, using them as the weaver does the warp and woof of his loom, combines them into new associations, whereby relations before unnoticed are perceived to exist, and new ideas are formed, which we denominate original ideas, as being distinct from those produced by the act of perception. This mental process is properly designated as conception, a term improperly applied to ideas resulting from mere perception. Conception, therefore, is the act of forming original ideas within the mind.

It is further to be remarked concerning rumination, that if one faculty is thus employed, the neighbouring or related faculties do not remain dormant, but are awakened to a similar exercise, the result of which is called the association of ideas. The associate action of the other faculties, in concert with the faculty of reason, induces ratiocination, while those faculties are reviving former impressions, equally as while they are receiving eternal impressions; and this condition of the mind is more favourable to reflection and conception, as the mutual harmony of action is less liable to disturbance than when the faculties are awake to the intrinsic entrance to exter-

nal impressions foreign to the subjects which the mind has under consideration. The mind, in this condition, is like a council deliberating with closed doors, instead of holding its sessions in a public thoroughfare.

The conceptive or reflective mood of the mind is the one most favourable to the discovery of the laws of the material world, as well as of the moral universe. The explorer and the experimentist are usually so absorbed in their special pursuits that they are, as a general rule, little inclined to generalization. A division of labour seems to be attended with results as salutary in intellectual affairs as in those of a mechanical character. Every man labours most efficiently in that pursuit for which he has a natural predilection. While many take delight in the collection of facts, others prefer to erect these facts into systems, and still others to determine their theories. It is the same as in the building of a temple; many procure materials, others fit them to their appropriate places in the building, and one architect plans and superintends the building of the edifice. The discovery and collection of facts which are essential to the formation of systems and theories, is a labour the zealous and industrious prosecution of which is worthy of all commendation, but the right employment of these facts is the chief glory of an age of intellectual progress.

The men who have conferred the most valuable and lasting benefits upon the world have been its thinkers—its thinkers, not its dreamers. Sir Isaac Newton attributed his successes in the discovery of the laws of matter and of motion to his habit of continuous and protracted thought upon whatever subject interested him, rather than to superior mental acumen. It was by reflection that Dr. Franklin conceived the idea of the identity of electricity and lightning, as well as the method by which he tested the truth of his conception; and by the same process Professor Morse conceived the idea of his electro-magnetic telegraph. The cotton-gin was conceived in the mind of Whitney before his hands essayed the first rude model of his machine. The frescoes of Michael Angelo were painted in his fancy before his hand seized the pencil or the brush; and the Cathedral of St. Peter's stood sublime in the mind of the architect before the first stone of his work was laid in its place. By the reflective exercise of the reasoning faculty, the statesman is able to forecast the future bearings of laws and institutions upon the welfare of millions of the human family; and the

moral philosopher, by the same process, deduces the laws of human conduct, points out to erring man the paths of rectitude and the remedies for the moral evils that afflict society; and, piercing even into the deep things of the divine, learns whatever it is possible for man to know concerning the theories of Divine Providence and moral government, and reverently complies with the divine injunction to acquaint himself with the mind of God himself.

If one were to propound the question, What is truth? to a dozen different individuals, he would from each of them receive a different answer. One might be: "Truth is the thought of God;"—a safe answer, yet by no means a definitive one, for the thought of God is truth, and more. Another would probably be: "Truth is the reality of things,"—a tautological answer; for if truth is reality, why not call it reality? But language is not nearly so rich in synonyms as many people, and even many lexicographers, suppose. Reality is not abstract, while truth is; and truth, therefore, is not reality.

Reason, the legislator of the mind, defines truth to be—the *idea of the reality of things*. If you correctly and perfectly describe to another person any particular thing, you tell him the truth concerning it, for you convey into his mind the *idea* of the thing as it really is, or the idea of its reality; certainly not its actual reality. To realize any thing, is to have the thing itself in possession; and to realize the truth concerning any thing, is to have the idea of the reality of the thing in the mind.

According to the rational theory, the *sin* of lying and the *evil* of lying are two distinct things; and, excepting that the sin of lying originates in evil, one of the two may exist without the other. The sin of lying consists in the bad intent in which the lie is conceived, while the evil of lying is in its consequences. Of the moral quality of the intent, the moral sense takes direct cognizance; but of the moral quality of the act, the moral sense only takes cognizance when reason has determined the relation of causation between the act and its consequences; and if these are evil, the act, as well as the intent, is evil. If a person utters truth, believing it to be falsehood, and with malevolent intent, the sinfulness is confined to the intent. A falsehood may be uttered without malevolent intent, the utterer even supposing it to be truth, yet its consequences may be as evil as if its utterance had originated in express malice. In this instance the evil is

complete, the act is bad, and yet the intent to falsify is absent; still, the judgment of reason is, that, as it is the duty of every man to consider well the consequences as well as the motives of his actions, and likewise to be assured of the truthfulness of his utterances, he who does not practise caution in these respects is amenable to moral censure. Truth may be uttered with the intention to work an evil consequence, and in this example the sin is equal to that of lying, for the intent is equally evil in its origin, and the act in its consequences. A man may tell what is true, believing it to be false, and, no evil consequences ensuing from the act, may flatter himself that he is excused, yet the sin of lying is on his conscience; and a man may intentionally utter a falsehood from the best and most benevolent motive; as if he were to tell a flagrant assassin that the victim of whom he is in pursuit had passed around the street-corner, when he had really fled through a doorway. Here is no sinful intent and no evil consequence, and yet the utterance is a technical lie.

It will be at once perceived that the rule which reason dictates with regard to lying, is the same which applies to every question of moral turpitude; namely, that the sin is in the intent, and the evil is in the consequences of the act. Our criminal laws do not intend to measure their penalties according to the moral guilt of criminal actions; for those laws, being established only for the protection of society, have regard mainly to the evil consequences of those actions upon the rights and happiness of society and its members; and they wisely leave the punishment of moral turpitude to the adjudication of Him who sees the hearts of men and their intents; excepting from the above rule, those cases where the accused, being shown to have been guiltless of evil intention, is acquitted of crime. These rules of criminal law correspond with the dictates of reason; for reason determines that, wherever, from the nature of things and circumstances, the truth is involved in uncertainty, as in the case of determining degrees of moral guilt and its punishment, inaction is the only safe policy for finite man to pursue; but it equally dictates that wherever truth, clearly revealed, beckons her votaries, she is a moral coward who hesitates to obey her supreme behests.

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent, that reason is the one faculty which distinguishes between the apparent and the real, between truth and the deceptive

illusions that assume its semblance ; which puts the coin-stamp upon the materials of knowledge, and gives them all their value ; and, in fine, that by so much as wisdom is superior to mere knowledge, by so much is reason superior to those knowing faculties which man possesses in common with the brute creation.

One chief object kept continually in view in this brief exposition of the Rational Theory, is the vindication of that theory from the imputation, often cast upon it, that it tends to dampen the ardour of religious fervor, to weaken the sense of moral obligation, and to unsettle belief in the received doctrines of religious faith. To the plausibility of these charges, the partial views promulgated by pretended rationalists have too often given a seeming confirmation ; but whoever has perused this discussion of the subject with careful attention and in a spirit of candour, will acknowledge that it tends to show that reason is the true friend and efficient ally of religion and virtue, and that only by perversion can it be viewed as inculcating aught that is inimical to either ; and, even more, that in its general scope it does not intermeddle with disputed questions of morals or of theological belief, but favours that charity which tolerates and makes allowance for differences of opinion, while it stimulates the development of all that is elevating, ennobling, and devotional, in human thought and affection.

Nothing is more common than for controvertists to attempt to gain advantages over their adversaries by applying to them odious epithets, such as "materialist," "spiritualist," or those grosser terms in which our vernacular abounds ; as in former times the learned were accused of magic, witchcraft, and Satanic arts, compacts, and instigations. This kind of ordeal the votary of truth may not hope to escape, neither is it lawful for him to fabricate for himself defensive weapons against these assaults. Truth is strongest when armed only with herself, and borrows no weapons of offence or defence ; but, naked and alone goes forth to the work of conquest. Her defenders, even her most valiant heroes and martyrs, may perish, yet should they not despair at their mishaps and defeats, but remember, that though they fall, their cause shall not want ample vindication, and that truth shall certainly win and wear the immortal bays of victory.

There are numerous mathematical propositions of whose conclusions reason does not take instant cognizance ; as, for example, the familiar proposition that the

square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the square of both its sides. In the discussion of this problem, the knowing and calculating faculties present the successive elements of the figures, and instantly, as each is produced, the reason perceives their relative values, and by their association in combination determines the truth of the conclusion. The same is true of theories involving the correlation of forces, whether natural or mechanical, whose laws reason can only determine by the aid of other faculties.

In all the foregoing examples, as well as in numerous others, the reason does not act until some elements of relation, either of causation, adaptation, or proportion, are presented to its view; and whenever that is done, reason instantly perceives each relation, and its law; and whenever the complement of individual relations and their laws is made up, reason perceives their mutual relation of adaptation, and determines their theory. Defects and errors in rational theories are due less to the imperfection of the rational process than to the imperfect presentment of facts by the knowing faculties. As, in logic, the major and minor must both exist, and must both be true, or the conclusion is uncertain, so all the elements of a rational theory must be present and certain, or the theory will be defective; and if any of the elements are false, the theory is erroneous. It is common to attribute errors in rational theories to the defectiveness of reason, yet nothing can be farther from the truth, for reason, being normal, is as infallible as normal eyesight. Werner, spent his whole life in a champaign country, the superposition of whose rocks was uniform and undisturbed, inferred from this uniformity his Neptunian theory, according to which all rocks have been formed by sedimentary deposition; but his pupil, Von Buch, extending his travels into volcanic regions and countries abounding in hills and mountains, was impelled to adopt the theory of upheaval by igneous agency, and his reason compelled him to abandon the errors of the Neptunian theory, and adopt the truths of the Plutonian theory. In this instance, it is apparent that the defectiveness of the Neptunian system theory arose from the imperfectness of the facts from which it was inferred, while the superior truthfulness of the Plutonian theory resulted from the broader basis of facts upon which it was founded.

Ratiocination is involved in demonstrating the truth of a postulate or proposition apagogically, or by the

mathematical process called *reductio ad absurdum*, by assuming the converse to be true, and demonstrating the fallacy or absurdity of its logical or mathematical conclusion. This method of reasoning is the most common of any in practical use, and is often resorted to for the purpose of determining by proof the truth of theories which, in consequence of the imperfection of human faculties, had before rested in some degree of uncertainty. In this, as in all ratiocination, the laws of relation, or ratio, form the constituent in the conclusion which is due to the action of the faculty of reason. Even as to the transcendental truth of the being and attribute of the self-existent Infinite, the revelation of the perceptive function of reason is fortified, and the understanding is confirmed in its acceptance of the truth, by apagogical assumptions of the contrary and their fallacious conclusions.

Tried by all tests, the adamantine integrity of the sublime central truth of the divine Infinity becomes more and more obvious to human understanding, and the mind—which at first received the intuitive perception of pure reason with trembling and fearful joy, a joy qualified by a shade of doubt, deepened by a consciousness of the importance of the subject—at length is brought to rest in a perfect and unquestioning confidence, fast anchored to what it can no longer doubt will remain unmoved, though all things else should tremble to their fall. The solid rocks, through whose cleft summits uplifted to the skies volcanic fires blaze forth in awful splendor, descending, sink below the surface of the earth, and form the immovable basis on which rest and from which are produced both soil, and all the varied forms of vegetable and animal organization, with which the earth is covered; and, likewise, the sublime truth of the infinite divine, constitutes the grand fundamental basis from which all true systems of divine, moral, and social philosophy originate, and on which alone any theory concerning them can securely rest.

The *unity* of the Divine is a truth of which the human mind with difficulty arrives at a perfect comprehension, although reason determines it as necessary to infinitude. Man is several in faculties, as in numbers, and in contemplating the Supreme Being, thinks of him as several, and speaks understandingly of the divine power, wisdom, and goodness, as he would of those attributes in a superior man, as well as of subdivisions of these imputed attributes, such as love, hatred, benevolence, justice,

truth, &c., equal in number, and, as he imagines similar in function to the moral, intellectual, and affectional faculties of man ; nor do many good men deem that they well understand the Supreme Being in his relation to his creatures, until they have satisfactorily imagined to themselves in what manner each one of all these attributes is exercised. It might be a thankless and unprofitable task to attempt to uproot these deeply-seated ideas from many devout minds, but those who desire to know all truths that may be known will find their attempts to conceive of the divine unity aided by reflecting that in every divine action, whether of creation, sustentation, or administration, power, wisdom, and goodness are equally manifested, as being employed consentaneously and in perfect harmony ; and by considering how utterly impossible it is to imagine, in this view, that either of these supreme attributes, supposing them to be infinite and equal, could permit an act to be done in which each should not have an equal share ; or, to state the idea in other words and more broadly, how an infinitely good being could do a bad action, or an infinitely wise being could do an unwise action, or how an infinitely powerful being could be susceptible of weakness ; and hence, as these attributes are manifestly equal and infinite, and there can be no plurality of infinity—they are necessarily one.

What, then, of evil ? some will ask. The answer is plain. Good, the synonym of God, alone, is infinite ; evil is finite, an effect and instrument of good. Within the embracement of infinity, evil has its birth and death, its origin and its end. Nothing, in the moral any more than in the physical universe, can exist which is not an effect of the infinite cause. If this answer fails to satisfy any one who believes that God is infinite, he will profit by the attempt to frame any other rational answer to his inquiry. We learn to become reconciled to this truth, when, by experience and observation, we come to understand and believe that they love most to whom most is forgiven, that sorrows and afflictions chasten the affections, subdue the passions and discipline the soul, giving it the supremacy over the impulses of the animal nature, and thus enabling it by freer exercise to develop its strength and enlarge its capacities for the enjoyment of celestial beatitude ; and that even Death, the very king of terrors, opens the portals of immortal life.

Every truth is in harmony with every other truth ;



but especially is this to be affirmed of the 'one truth of the infinite unity, the grand key-note, to which all other truths respond "in perfect diapason," each contributing to swell the volume of the sublime symphony of universal harmony.

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ART. V.—1. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.*  
By HENRY HALLAM.

2. *Legende der Heiligen, (Chronicles of the Saints), Art. St. Thomas, von F. X. WENINGER.*

3. *Œuvres complètes de A. F. OZANAM.* 8 tomes. 8vo. Paris, 1853.

4. *Opera D. Thomæ, 17 vols., fol. Romæ, 1570.*

THE history of the Middle Ages in its bearing on literature and civilization has lately been engaging the earnest attention of some of the best cultivated and untrammelled intellects, and their researches have earned for them fame and honour. In English literature, Hallam, Maitland, and a writer in Blackwood's Magazine have particularly distinguished themselves in this field; but to German writers is perhaps due the credit of having taken the lead in the enterprise; and foremost among these stand Hurtur,\* Voigt, and others of minor reputation. Still the palm of success in mediæval researches, must unquestionably be awarded to a French writer, the late lamented M. Ozanam, whose premature decease in 1853, at the age of about forty years, has deprived literature of one of its best exemplars, and society of one of its brightest ornaments.

There are some writers who see nothing great or worthy of commendation but in the remote ages of antiquity,—Christian or Pagan as their predilection may be,—while there are others who take opposite views, and can see nothing deserving of praise or admiration, but in recent or modern times; and both parties have to a great extent ignored the Middle Ages, as if these ages were devoid of all interest. For our own part we belong to neither school exclusively. We see much to admire, as well as to condemn, in remote antiquity, as well as in the Middle Ages; and we are sorry that we have to say the same in regard to our own times. But let us not be misunder-

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\* *Histoire du Pape Innocent III. et de ses Contemporains, traduite de l'Allemand.*

stood : upon the whole we are well pleased and thankful that our own lot has been cast in the 19th century "with all its faults," yet, this shall not deter us from giving due praise—

"wherever found,  
Whether on Heathen or on Christian ground."

The whole period of the Middle Ages extending from the eighth to the thirteenth century, has been by some sciolists called the "dark ages," but if there were any solid foundation for this name, it ought in all fairness and candour to be limited to the first two or three centuries of that period. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries assuredly produced men, and women too, that for their genius and erudition would have merited halos of glory in any age or nation whatever. The names of St. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Vincent de Beauvais ; and of Roger Bacon (sometimes known under the name of Friar Bacon), Alexander of Hales, John Duns Scotis and St. Bonaventure will ever continue to illustrate with an enviable effulgence, the latter centuries of the middle ages.

We design in this article to speak more particularly of St. Thomas and of his writings, and in introducing him to our readers we feel confident that whatever they may think of his religion, they will be much pleased with the man himself, with his moral beauty, his unassuming manners, his amiable disposition, but above all with his gigantic intellect, his penetrating genius, and his vast literary labours. And as they will naturally desire to know something of the history of such a man, we will, before noticing his writings, present them an outline of his life. It may be proper to premise that in the books he has received several names, as Thomas Aquino, Thomas of Aquin, Thomas of Acquin, &c.,\* but the name we have given him appears to us the most correct one, and the one by which he is more generally known.

If nobility of birth could have added any thing to the *éclat* of his personal excellence, Thomas Aquinas was certainly not deficient in this respect. His biographers mention that he was son to Landulph, count of Aquino and lord of Loretto and Belcastro. His mother, Theodora, was daughter to the count of Theate. On the father's side he was nearly related to St. Louis, king of France, and to the last emperors of Germany, and connected with most of the royal houses of Europe ; while on the mother's side

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\* He is also called *Doctor Angelicus*, *Scholæ Angelus*, *Aquila theologorum*.  
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he was of the house of Caraccioli, descended from the Norman princes who chased the Saracens and the Greeks from Italy.

Thomas was born at Rocca-Secca, in the kingdom of Naples, towards the end of the year 1226. The chroniclers tell us that it was perceived from his tenderest youth that he was destined for something wonderful. He was exempt, we are assured, from the ordinary defects and passions of childhood ; the impatience, anger, jealousy, spite, and the like so commonly observable in children, were never noticed in him. "The severity of his countenance," says Alban Butler, "the constant evenness of his temper, his modesty and sweetness were sensible signs that his soul had received largely of the benediction of heaven."

Scarcely had he attained the age of five years, when his father took him to the Abbey of Mount Cassino to be instructed by the monks in the first principles of religion and education. His teachers were astonished at the rapidity of his progress, his great talents, and his happy dispositions to virtue. He was but ten years old when the abbot of Mount Cassino told his father it was time to send him to some university. The count of Aquino, before he sent him to Naples, took him for some months to see his mother at their seat at Loretto, the place which at the end of that century became so famous for devotion to the Virgin Mary.

Thomas was the admiration of the whole family. Amidst so much company and so many servants, he was as much occupied with heavenly things as when he was in the monastery. He spoke little, but we are told that what he said was always to the purpose ; and he employed all his time in serious and profitable studies and exercises. His great delight was to plead the cause of the poor before his parents, who gave him the means of relieving them.

His mother, who, on account of his good qualities, was passionately attached to him, proposed to her husband that Thomas should continue his studies at home. She advanced as a reason that his innocence would be too much exposed to danger in the public schools ; but the count was of a contrary opinion, and rejected the proposed measure ; the advantages of a private education did not appear to him to counterbalance those which emulation and mutual communication in studies, afford to young persons. Accordingly he determined on sending his son to Naples, where the emperor Frederick II. had

founded a university. This prince had at that time forbidden students to resort to any university in Italy, as he was, for some cause, exasperated against Bologna. It therefore happened that great numbers of students resorted to Naples, and that disorder and licentiousness accompanied them.

Thomas soon perceived the danger to which he was exposed at Naples, and more than once regretted his absence from Mount Cassino; but the chroniclers of his time relate of him that by his watchfulness he lived at Naples like Daniel in the midst of Babylon; they tell us also that he guarded his eyes with great caution lest they should rest on any thing dangerous to his soul; that he shunned all conversation with women, and avoided with the greatest care all society with persons whose moral purity was suspected; and whilst his fellow-students went to profane diversions, he retired to his closet to study and pray, his only pleasures.

Thomas learned rhetoric under the celebrated Peter Martin. As to his course of philosophy, he studied it under Peter of Hibernia, one of the most learned men of the age. His progress was such, we are told, that he repeated the lessons more clearly than his teacher had explained them.

The Order of St. Dominic, who had himself been dead about twenty years, then abounded with men who were the ornament of the Church, by the eminent sanctity of their lives. The frequent conversations Thomas had with one of that body, filled his soul with devotion. The instructions he received from the good monk increased in him the contempt he had already conceived for the perishable things of this world. Finally, disgusted with the world more than ever, he determined to yield to the ardent desire he had of entering the Order of St. Dominic. His tutor perceived his inclinations, and informed the count, his father, of the matter, who omitted neither threats nor promises to defeat such a design; but all was useless. The young Thomas who knew, as one of his biographers says, that the voice of flesh and blood should not be listened to when God calls, persisted in his first resolution, and took the habit of the Dominicans at Naples in 1243, being then seventeen years old.

The countess, his mother, no sooner learned what had passed, than she hastened to Naples to disengage him if possible from that state of life. Thomas, on learning the object of her visit, begged his superiors to spare him the

conflicts he would have to encounter, by removing him away from Naples. His request was granted, and accordingly he was sent to the convent of St. Sabina in Rome. Afterwards he was sent to Paris, to be out of the reach of his relations, but did not arrive there for the following reasons :—

Two of his brothers, Landulph and Reynold, commanders in the emperor's army in Tuscany, so well guarded all the roads, by their mother's direction, that he fell into their hands near Aqua-pendente. They endeavoured to pull off his habit; but he resisted them with such perseverance, that they conducted him in it to the seat of his parents, at Rocca-Secca. The mother, overjoyed at their success, had no doubt of being able to overcome his resolution. She endeavoured to persuade him that, to join such an order against his parents' advice, could not be the call of heaven—adding all manner of reasons, fond caresses, entreaties, and tears. Nature made her eloquent and pathetic. He was deeply sensible of her affliction; but his resolution was not to be shaken. His answers were modest and respectful, but firm. At last, offended at his resistance, the countess expressed her displeasure in very choleric words, and ordered him to be more closely confined and guarded, and that no one should see him or speak to him but his two sisters.

The reiterated solicitations of the two young ladies were a long and violent assault. They omitted nothing that flesh and blood could inspire on such an occasion, and represented to him the danger of causing the death of his mother by grief. Thomas, however, remained unshaken in his resolution, and answered them only by touching discourses on contempt for the world, and the love of virtue. He spoke with so much energy that his sisters became much affected; he had even the satisfaction of seeing them enter into his sentiments, and devote themselves with zeal to the practice of piety. The conversion of his sisters did not a little contribute to soften the rigours of his captivity. He employed the greater part of his time in prayer and meditation; the rest of it he employed in reading books which some of the Dominicans conveyed to him through his sisters. These books were a Bible, the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, and the works of Peter Lombard, called the "*Master of the Sentences*."

Meanwhile, his two brothers, Landulph and Reynold, returned from the army. They found their mother in the greatest affliction, and the young novice triumphant in

his resolution. This circumstance, which, perhaps, they did not expect, caused them to resort to means reproved by humanity as well as by religion. They began the assault by shutting him up in a tower of the castle. They tore in pieces his habit, and after bitter reproaches and threats, they left him, hoping his confinement, and the mortification every one strove to give him, would have the desired effect.

He suffered this imprisonment and persecution without a murmur for a year, some authors say for two years, when at length the report of his sufferings reached the ears of Pope Innocent IV., and of the emperor Frederick II. These personages became much interested in his case, and remonstrated in his favour with the countess and his brothers, who soon began to relent in their harshness. We are told that the Dominicans of Naples, being informed of this, sent some disguised religious to the castle of Rocca-Secca where one of his sisters, knowing that the countess was no longer opposed to his escape, contrived his being let down out of the tower in a basket. His religious brethren received him into their arms and bore him with great joy to their convent in Naples.

Thomas made his religious profession the following year. His mother and brothers loudly disapproved of his profession, and going so far as to assign odious motives for the step he had taken, they carried their complaints to the pope. Thereupon, Innocent summoned the young novice to Rome and examined him in their presence, but was well pleased with his answers. The pontiff greatly admired his virtues, approved of the state of life he had chosen, and recommended to him to persevere in it. He was no longer annoyed by his family.

After a little time John the Teutonic, the general of the Order, went to Paris, and took Thomas with him. From thence they went to Cologne, where Albertus Magnus then taught with great reputation, and where Thomas became his pupil.

We will here make a slight digression in regard to Albert, as we think our readers would like to know something more of so famous a character than his mere name. He was born in 1193. His natal city was Laving, in Suabia, and his family that of the counts of Bollstadt. The surname of *Magnus* was not given him, as may well be conceived, on account of his stature, which was comparatively small, but on account of the greatness of his science and of his renown. His parents sent him to study

at Padua. About 1222, at the age of 28 or 29 years, he entered the Order of St. Dominic, and in the course of time, he became one of its most renowned professors.

Albertus was the wonder of his age, as well for his knowledge and discoveries in the physical sciences and arts, as for his great work on the philosophy of Aristotle, to which he consecrated six folio volumes—a work, by the way, which shows conclusively that he was not the blind or tame follower of the Greek philosopher, that some shallow writers have imagined him to be.

In 1254, he was elected provincial of his order for Germany. In the convents he visited in this capacity, his greatest care was in copying books. The pope sent him to Poland, in order to put an end to the barbarous custom that prevailed there of killing deformed children and invalid old people. After having declined many dignities which His Holiness offered him, he accepted the bishopric of Ratisbonne. But the administration of a diocese took too much time from the studies which he loved, and which had become a kind of necessity to him; so, after the third year, he resigned his bishopric, re-entered his convent at Cologne, and resumed his labours as a teacher and writer.

The chroniclers of the time relate two extraordinary facts in the life of Albertus. The first is, that, from being originally a dull and stupid youth, he suddenly became a person of amazing intellectual powers, so that he was for several years afterwards the light and the glory of his order. The second is, that, while in the pulpit, in the midst of a sermon, and without any apparent disease, he suddenly lost all his intellectual powers.

Such was the man whose lessons Thomas attended. All the time the duties of religion left him free, the disciple consecrated to study, retrenching part of that which was allowed for his meals and sleep—"not," as F. Weninger assures us, "from the desire of the applause of men, but for the advancement of God's honour and the interests of religion."\* His humility made him conceal his perception and progress, so that his fellow-students thought he learned nothing, and on account of his reticence, called him, in derision, the Dumb Ox, or the Great Sicilian Ox. One of them, we are told, once offered to explain his lessons to him; he thankfully listened

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\* *Legende der Heiligen.*

although he was then capable of teaching the would-be instructor.

But his genius and learning were at last discovered, in spite of his endeavours to conceal them. His master, having propounded to him several questions on the most knotty and obscure points, his answers were such as to astonish the audience; and Albertus, unable to contain his admiration and joy, exclaimed: "We call Thomas the Dumb Ox; but one day he will give such a loud bellowing in learning, that it will be heard all over the world." This applause, we are told, excited no movement of vanity in the humble student. There was no change noticed in his conduct, because there was no change in his interior; it was always the same—the same simplicity, the same love for retirement, silence, and prayer. It was in the first year of his studies under Albertus, that he wrote his Commentaries on the Ethics of Aristotle.

The General Chapter of the Dominicans held at Cologne, in 1245, deputed Albertus to teach in Paris, in their college of St. James, which the University had given them. Thomas was sent with him to continue his studies under him, and there his talents shone with incredible splendour. Still his obedience was equal to his profound humility, as the following incident will show: one day, whilst he read in the refectory, the corrector bade him, by mistake, to pronounce a word with a false quantity, or, as some would say, incorrectly; and although he had pronounced it properly, and was aware of the fact, yet he readily obeyed. When told by his brethren, after dinner, that he ought to have persevered in giving it the right pronunciation, his answer was: "It matters but little how a word is pronounced; but to practise humility and obedience upon all occasions is of the greatest importance."

In 1248, being twenty-two years of age, he was appointed by the General Chapter to teach at Cologne, with his old master Albertus, whose high reputation he equalled in his first lessons. He then also began to publish his first works, which consist of commentaries on the ethics and other philosophical works of Aristotle. No one was more courteous and affable; but it was his practice to shun all unnecessary visits.

In his zeal for the salvation of others, Thomas did not forget his own relations. The lively interest he took in their welfare inspired him with the ardent desire of seeing them walk in the paths of justice. His exhortations, and



more particularly his example, exercised a powerful influence on them.

Thomas, after teaching four years at Cologne, was sent, in 1252, to Paris. His reputation for perspicuity and solidity drew immediately to his school a great number of students. It was with great reluctance, and only in virtue of obedience, that he consented to receive, in October, 1257, the degree of Doctor, being then only thirty-one years old.

The manner of teaching then was not as it is, in general, at present, by dictating lessons which the students write; but it was according to the practice that still obtains partly in some schools, and particularly in medical colleges. The master delivered his explanation like a harangue, the students retaining what they could, and often taking notes to help their memory.

Academical degrees were also different then from what they now are, being conferred on none but those who taught. To be a Master of Arts, a person must have studied six years at least, and be twenty-one years old; and to be qualified for teaching divinity, he must have studied eight years more, and be at least thirty-five years old. Nevertheless, Thomas, by a dispensation of the University, on account of his distinguished learning and merit, was allowed to teach at twenty-five. The usual way was for one named a bachelor, to explain the "Master of the Sentences" for one year in the school of some doctor, upon whose testimony after certain rigorous public examinations and other formalities, the bachelor was admitted to the degree of licentiate, which gave him the right of teaching as a Doctor. He employed the second year in expounding the Master of the Sentences, after which he received from the Chancellor of the University the degree of Doctor.

The learned were not the only persons that rendered justice to the rare merit of Thomas. St. Louis, king of France, had great confidence in his enlightened judgment, and asked his advice upon the most important state affairs. He invited him often to his table, an honour which the humble Dominican declined as often as it was possible. When, however, he was obliged to accept it, he appeared at court as unpretending and as self-possessed as when he was in his convent. It is related of him, that being one day at the king's table, the following incident occurred: He had been for some time engaged in refuting the doctrine of the Bulgarians or New Manichees, which

had recently been renewed in Italy. His head being full of the matter, and his mind intensely occupied with the profound reflections he had been making, he suddenly cried out: "The argument is conclusive against the Manichees."\* His prior who was with him bade him remember where he was. Thomas would have begged pardon of the king, but that prince, fearing that the theologian would forget the argument that had occurred to his mind, caused his own secretary to write it down for him.

Thomas assisted at the thirty-sixth chapter of his order, which was held in 1259 at Valencennes. There he was deputed, conjointly with Albertus Magnus and three other doctors, to draw up rules for studies, which are still extant in the acts of that chapter. Returning to Paris he there continued his teaching.

Pope Urban IV., who knew his merit, called him, in 1261, to Rome, and by his order the general appointed him to teach there. That pontiff wished several times to raise him to ecclesiastical dignities, but Thomas refused them all, preferring the state of a simple religious to that of dignities which, according to Rohrbacher, ambition would have coveted less, if it were capable of knowing the dangers that surround them.† The pope, however, obliged him to attend his person, and that was all he could obtain of him. Thus it was that he taught and preached in all the towns where that pontiff resided, as in Rome, Viterbo, Orvieto, Fondi, Perugia. He also taught at Bologna, Naples, &c.

The Dominicans having held their fortieth general chapter in London in the year 1273, Thomas assisted at it, and soon after retired from teaching. He now rejoiced to see himself reduced to the state of a private religious man. Pope Clement IV. had such a regard for him that, in 1265, among other ecclesiastical preferments, he made him an offer of the archbishopric of Naples, but could not prevail on him to accept that or any other. It was at Bologna that he wrote the first part of his theological *Summa*.

From December, in 1273, until the 7th of March following, the day of his death, he neither wrote nor dictated anything on theological matters. From that time he laid aside his studies, to fix his thoughts on eternity. Pope Gregory X. had called a general council at Lyons,

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\* Conclusum est contra Manichæos.

† Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique.

with the view of extinguishing the Greek schism, and raising succors to defend the Holy Land against the Saracens. The ambassadors of Michael Palæologus, together with the Greek prelates, were to assist at it, and it was to meet on the first of May, in 1274. His Holiness, by a brief directed to Thomas, ordered him to repair thither, to defend the Catholic cause against the Greek schismatics.

Though indisposed, Thomas set out from Naples to attend the council. Proceeding on his journey, he was forced, by his increasing fever, to stop at Fossa-Nuava, a famous abbey of the Cistercians; and, passing into the cloister, he repeated these words, from Psalm cxxxi:—*This is my rest, for ages without end.* The good monks treated him with uncommon veneration. He had continually in his mouth the words of St. Augustine: "Then shall I truly live when I shall be filled with Thee alone and Thy love: now I am a burden to myself, because I am not full of Thee." It was in this abode, consecrated to religion, that Thomas yielded up his spirit, on the 7th of March, 1274, in the fiftieth, or, as some say, the forty-eighth year of his age.

Thomas was very tall, and every way proportionably well made. The concourse of people at his funeral was extraordinary. The University of Paris sent to the general and provincial of the Dominicans a letter of condolence upon his death, giving the highest commendations to his learning and sanctity, and begging his body as a treasure. Naples, Rome, and many other universities, princes, and orders, contended no less for it. After several contestations, Pope Urban V., many years after Thomas's death, granted his body to the Dominicans to carry to Paris or Toulouse, as Italy had already possessed the body of St. Dominic, at Bologna. It was received at Toulouse in the most honourable manner, and it rests there in the Dominicans' church, in a rich shrine, with a stately mausoleum over it. Finally, he was solemnly canonized by Pope John XXII., in the year 1323. Pope Pius V., in 1567, ordered his festival and office to be kept equal with those of the four doctors of the Western church.

The writings of St. Thomas will now briefly engage our attention. These writings are partly theological and partly philosophical, with some commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and several treatises on piety. It is his philosophical works that we desire particularly to notice: respecting his theological ones, except as regards

their literary aspect or form, and a few other points, we will, of course, have nothing to say, as it does not fall within our scope.

St. Thomas follows the scholastic method of teaching. But in what does this scholastic method consist? It consists in this: to have a clear and precise idea of what one teaches; for this purpose, to lay down certain principles and deduce from them their consequences by just reasonings; to employ only clear and distinctly defined terms; to avoid useless digressions, vague ideas, and equivocal terms; lastly, to put the whole in such an order that the questions will be mutually elucidated or explained by each other. Such is the scholastic method, and such also is the method of teaching geometry, so that the scholastic is nothing more or less than the geometric method.

In his *Summa* of theology, St. Thomas commences each article with the difficulties against the truth or dogma in question; afterwards he gives an exposition of the truth or dogma, followed by its proofs, and then answers the difficulties or objections. It is a remarkable fact that modern infidels have not been able to find a single difficulty or objection against Christianity that St. Thomas has not anticipated in his great work, and, we may add, triumphantly refuted. It is, in truth, from Thomas Aquinas that these gentlemen have stolen almost all their thunder; but they have taken good care not to bring forward his irrefutable arguments and answers.\*

We now proceed to give his views about the origin of society—a very important question, inasmuch as it is, and must be, the basis of public law and government. Let us hear the calm and profound views of St. Thomas on the subject. “If man,” he says, “was designed to live alone, like many animals, he would not require any person to govern him; every man would be his own king, under the supreme command of God; inasmuch as he would govern himself by the light of reason given him by his Creator. But it is in the nature of man to be a social and political being, living in community, differently from all other animals—a thing which is clearly shown by the necessities of his nature. Nature has provided for other animals food; hairy skins for their raiment; means of defence, as teeth,

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\* “La Somme de Saint Thomas,” says M. Cousin, “est un des grands monuments de l’esprit humain au moyen âge, et comprend, avec une haute métaphysique, un système entier de morale et même de politique.—*Cours de l’Hist. de la philos., 9e leçon.*”

horns, claws,—or, at least, speed in flight; but she has not endowed man with any of these qualities, and instead she has given him reason, by which, with the aid of his hands, he can procure what he wants. But, to procure this, one man alone is not sufficient; for he is not in a condition to preserve his own life; it is, therefore, in man's nature to live in society. Moreover, nature has granted to other animals the power of discerning what is useful, or injurious to them: thus, the sheep has a natural horror of its enemy the wolf. There are also certain animals that know by nature the herbs which are medicinal to them, and other things which are necessary for their preservation. But man has not naturally the knowledge which is necessary for the support of life, except in society; inasmuch as the aid of reason is capable of leading from universal principles to the knowledge of particular things which are necessary for life. Thus, then, since it is impossible for man alone to obtain all this knowledge, it is necessary that he should live in society, one person aiding another, each one performing his own task; for example, some in medicine, some in one way, and some in another. This is shown with great clearness in that faculty peculiar to man, language,—which enables him to communicate his thoughts to others. Indeed, brute animals mutually communicate their feelings to each other, as the dog expresses his anger by barking, and other animals their passions in various ways. But man, with respect to his fellows, is more communicative than any other animal, even than those which are most inclined to live in a gregarious state, as cranes, ants, and bees. In this sense Solomon says, in Ecclesiastes: 'It is better, therefore, that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society.' Hence, if it is natural for man to live in society, it is necessary that some one should direct the multitude; for if many were united, and each one did as he thought proper, they would fall to ruin, unless somebody looked after the public good, as would be the case with the human body, and that of any other animal, if there did not exist a power to watch over the welfare of all the members. It is for these reasons that Solomon says: 'Where there is no one to govern, the people will be dispersed.' . . . . In man himself the soul directs the body; and in the soul, the feelings of anger and concupiscence are governed by reason. In like manner, among the members of the body, there is one principal one

which directs and governs all the others, as the heart or the head. There ought, therefore, to be in every multitude of people a governing power."

It has been imagined by many, that ideas that were very common in the Middle Ages are the marvellous discoveries of modern genius. How often does not our age glorify itself in having discovered the boon of representative government? With certain French and English writers the marvel is of a constitutional monarchy, tempered with an aristocracy and a democracy, and yet all that is so old that St. Thomas recognized it as already existing in the divine government of the Hebrews. Let us hear him speak:—

"As regards the good constitution of princes or of chiefs of a city or of a nation, it is necessary to pay attention to two things: the first is, that all should have a certain part in the government; thus the peace of the people is preserved, and all love, and uphold such a constitution, as it is said in the second book of the *Politics* of Aristotle. The other point regards the kind of government, or the diversity of manner of constituting the princes or chiefs. There are divers kinds of them, as has been remarked by the same philosopher, in the third book of his *Politics*. However, that is especially a government where one alone governs according to virtue; and an aristocracy, that is to say, the government of the best men, where some few govern according to virtue. The best constitution of princes or chiefs in a city or in a kingdom, is, therefore, where a single person is proposed according to virtue to preside over all, where some others govern under him according to virtue; and still this government appertains to all, as well because the chiefs may be elected from among the whole people, as because they are, in fact, elected by the whole people. This kind of government is the best, being well mixed with royalty, inasmuch as only one presides;—with aristocracy, inasmuch as several govern according to virtue; and with democracy, that is to say, with the power of the people, inasmuch as the princes may be elected from among the men of the people, and that to the people it appertains to elect the princes. And see what was instituted according to the divine law."

Such is the doctrine as regards the best of political institutions, and we are happy to have to say that we can see no material difference between it and our own. It matters not what name you give the chief, whether king, prince, or president, when the power is the same, and he is chosen, or in modern parlance, elected by the people mediately or immediately. And what matters it, what name you give the tempering power between the chief ruler and the people, whether you call it an aristocracy, a parliament, or a senate? By aristocracy St. Thomas understood, as may have been noticed, men distinguished, not for their rank or opulence, but for their *virtue*, or as we would at this day say, moral goodness, or moral ex-

cellence, and also for their capability. In short, we know no country, in which St. Thomas's idea of a good form of government is so much realized as in our own, at least in theory. All the strictly monarchical governments in the civilized world, be it remembered, are more or less hereditary, since the fall of unhappy Poland.

In modern times there has been a great dispute in regard to the origin of political power, some maintaining that it comes from the people, and others that it comes from God. The publicists of the Middle Ages had no dispute on this point; they united that which is now divided; they unanimously taught that political and legislative power comes from God through the people.\*

Some persons who have not thoroughly examined the matter, or have done so through polluted sources, have rashly concluded that what are called *passive obedience to tyrants*, and *non-resistance to tyrants* were the received political dogmas of the Middle Ages. But such was not the fact, as St. Thomas, who may be considered as a fair exponent of the views of those ages in these matters, shows conclusively in several parts of his writings. But these subjects are of too extensive a character to receive further notice in the limited space at our disposal.

St. Thomas held that intelligences understand by a smaller number of ideas, in proportion to the superiority of their order; thus, that angels have fewer than men, and archangels fewer than angels, and that thus they continue diminishing until in God, the Supreme Intelligence, there is but one idea,—the idea, *par excellence*, which is his own essence, the infinite idea, the idea which includes all ideas.

Those who have studied the history of philosophy, need not be told of the inky wars that have been waged in the schools on the *origin of ideas*. The doctrines of the materialists and of the sensists on this subject are too well known to need being mentioned here. Therefore, we will content ourselves with reproducing one or two brief passages from St. Thomas on this rather knotty question. He states that first principles, speculative as well as practical, must be naturally communicated to us:—*“Oportet igitur naturaliter nobis esse indita, sicut principia speculabilium, ita et principia operabilium.”*†

In another passage, enquiring whether the soul knows immaterial things in their eternal reasons (in rationibus

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\* Suarez, *De legib.* 1. 3. c. 2. † Para. I. 2, lxxix. A. 12.

æternis), he writes, that the intellectual light which is within us, is nothing else than a participated likeness of the increated light in which the eternal reasons are contained: "*Ipsum enim lumen intellectuale, quod est in nobis nihil est aliud, quam quædam participata similitudo luminis increate, in quo continentur rationes æternæ.*"\*

Some persons think that it was the German philosopher, Kant, who discovered the fact of the indeterminateness of the substance of the human soul, but this supposed recent discovery turns out, like many others, to be an old one, as may be seen in the writings of Thomas. Proposing to himself the question whether the intellectual soul knows itself by its essence: after various observations on intelligence, and the intelligibility of objects, he answers:—

"It is not, therefore, by its essence, but by its acts that the understanding knows itself, and that in two ways. One way, in particular, according to which Plato or Socrates perceives that he has an intellectual soul from the fact that he perceives he understands; the second way, in general, inasmuch as we consider the nature of the human mind in the intellectual act. But it is true that we derive the judgment and efficacy of the knowledge by which we know the nature of the soul, by the light of the divine truth of which our intellect participates, and in which are contained the reasons of all things, as was said above. Hence, Augustine says, in the ninth book on the Trinity: We have intuition of the inviolable truth by which we perfectly determine, as far as possible, not what the mind of each man is, but what it should be according to eternal reasons. But there is a difference between these two cognitions, for to have the first, we need only the presence of the mind, which is the principle of the act by which the mind perceives itself; and, therefore, we say that it knows itself by its presence; but for the second, the presence of the mind is not sufficient, but a careful and subtile investigation is necessary. Hence, many are ignorant of the nature of the soul; wherefore, Augustine, in the tenth book on the Trinity, in reference to this investigation, says: The soul should not try to see itself as something absent, but endeavour to discern itself as something present; that is, to know its difference from other things, which is to know its essence (*quidditatem*) and nature."†

Another of Kant's discoveries, to wit, the divisions of judgments into analytic and synthetic, one so much lauded for the new light it has brought into the intellectual world, turns out likewise to be an old discovery, the newness of the thing being merely in the change of terms. In the scholastic writers, we find the distinction made between the two kinds of judgment. The following extracts from Thomas Aquinas will place the matter beyond cavil:—

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\* Pars. 2. L. xxxiv. A. 5. † Summ. Pars. I. 2, lxxxvii. A. 1.



"A proposition is known by itself, *per se nota*, when the predicate is contained in the subject, as, *man is an animal*; for animal is of the essence of man. If, then, it is known to all what the subject and predicate are, that proposition will be known to all by itself, as is seen in the first principles of demonstration, which are certain common things, not unknown to any one, as being and not being the whole, the part and thus similar."\*

"Any proposition the predicate of which is of the essence of the subject is known by itself, although such a proposition is not known by itself to any one who is ignorant of the definition of the subject. Thus, the proposition *man is rational*, is by its nature known by itself, for whoever says *man* says *rational*.†

His teaching on the subject of *evil* cannot be considered hackneyed or common-place, and therefore we will the more readily make room for an analysis of it.

According to the universal acceptation of the word, evil is the privation of a thing, which from his having been born, one ought to have. If man has not wings it is not an evil to him, he is not born to have them. But if he has not hands, it is an evil for him because naturally he ought to have them if he is perfect, whilst it would not be evil for a bird. It is thus that this word is understood by all mankind. Now, privation is not an essence, but a negation in the substance. Evil is not then a real essence. This is what totally overthrows the error of the Manichees, who suppose that there are things which are in their nature evil.‡ Hence, it follows that evil is caused only by something that is good. That which has no existence, can be the cause of nothing. It is necessary, therefore, that every cause must be some being. Now, evil is not any thing whatsoever, but a privation; evil, therefore, cannot be the cause of any thing. If, therefore evil has a cause, this cannot be but something that is good.§ Hence, it follows also, that evil is founded on something that is good, for evil cannot exist by itself, having no essential existence. It must be the case, then, that evil is in some subject. Now, every subject, being a certain substance, is something that is good. Therefore every evil is in something that is good.||

St. Thomas sounds and illumines these matters with so rare a sagacity, that he sometimes arrives at conclusions as surprising for their justness as for their novelty. "It has been asked," he says, "If there is a God, whence comes evil? We should rather conclude thus: If there is evil, there is a God, for evil would have no existence

\* *Summa Theologica*, P. La. 2. 2d A. 1 in corp. † La., 2d, 2 94a, A. 2d, in corp.  
 ‡ *Contra Gent.* 7 and 6. § *Ibid.* cap. 10. | Cap. 11.

without order in the good, the privation of which is evil. But there would not be this order, if God did not exist.”\*

Surely, every Christian soul that can fully comprehend his meaning will be pleased with what, in another place, he says of the Eternal Word. He proposes to himself the question: Whether any relation to creature is signified in the name of the Word: *Utrum in nomine Verbi importetur respectus ad creaturam*; and he answers thus: “I reply, that in the Word, relation to creature is signified. For God, in knowing himself, knows every creature. The Word, therefore, conceived in the mind, is representative of all that is understood by it. Wherefore, there are in us different words according to the different things we understand. But because God, by one act, understands both himself and all things, His only Word is expressive not only of the Father, but also of creatures. And as the science of God is, with respect to himself, cognition, but with respect to creatures cognition and cause, so the Word of God is expressive only of what is in God the Father, but both expressive and productive of creatures; and this is why it is said in the thirty-second Psalm, ‘He said, and they were made;’ because the productive reason of those things, which the Father makes, is contained in the Word.”†

In truth, we know not which most to admire in the writings of the illustrious Doctor, whether their profundity, their sublimity, or their calm, majestic beauty. We will conclude our extracts from them with his admirable portraiture of a true sage, and would simply remark that, in our estimation, he was himself one of its most noble realizations. We quote textually the first chapter of the Introduction to his work, *Contra Gentiles* :—

“*What is the duty of a sage?*” ‘My heart shall meditate truth and my lips shall hate wickedness.’‡

“Universal usage, which the philosopher, that is to say, Aristotle § decides we must follow in naming things, generally requires that we should call sages those who directly ordain or dispose affairs, and who govern them well. Hence, among other things that men conceive of the sage, the philosopher concludes that it is the part of the sage to ordain. Now, of every thing that is to be governed or ordained for a special end, it is necessarily from that end the rule of government and of ordinance should be taken, because then every thing is disposed for the best when it is suitably ordained for its end. In reality the end, the object of every thing, is the good. Hence we see that in the arts one governs another, and that he is as it were the ruler of him to whom the end, in view appertains.]

\* Lib. iii., c. 71, n. 7. † Summ., P. 1, 2, 34, A. 3. ‡ Prov. viii.

§ Aristotle, 2 Top. | In præm. metaphys., c. 2.

"Thus medicine governs pharmacy and ordains it, because health, with which medicine is concerned, is the object of all the medicaments which pharmacy prepares. It is the same thing with the act of the pilot in regard to him who builds ships; with the captain in regard to the armorer. Experts in those arts that govern others receive the name of sages. But as those artists who pursue certain particular things for particular ends do not attain the universal end of things, they are called sages in this or that department, as it is said, '*as a wise architect I have laid the foundation.*'\*" But the absolute name of sage is reserved for him alone whose consideration is occupied with the end of the universe, because this end of the universe is also its origin. Hence, according to the philosopher, it is the concern of the sage to consider the highest cause.

"Now, the final cause of every thing is that which its author and creator proposed to himself. The prime author and mover of the universe is intelligence, as will be shown further on. The final end of the world must therefore be the good of intelligence. But this good is the truth. It must be the case, then, that truth is the final end of the whole universe, and that wisdom insists principally upon this end, and upon its consideration. It is for this reason that the divine wisdom having assumed flesh testifies that he came into this world for the manifestation of the truth, saying: '*For this I was born, and for this I came into the world that I might give testimony to the truth.*'†

"The philosopher himself decides that the highest philosophy is the truth, not of any truth, whatever it may be, but that truth which is the source of all truth; that is, of that which concerns the principle of the being of all things, in such a manner, that its especial truth is the principle of every truth; for the disposition of things is the same in truth as it is in being. Now, in contraries, it is the same thing to sustain one, or to refute the others, as medicine restores health and expels disease. Thus as it is the part of the sage to meditate truth, especially in regard to the first principle, so it is his part to impugn the contrary falsehood.

"It is meetly, then, that from the very mouth of wisdom two duties of the sage are signalized in the words of our text; one, to meditate and announce the divine truth, the truth by excellence, in saying: '*my heart shall meditate the truth, the other, to impugn the falsehood contrary to the truth, when it says: 'my lips shall hate wickedness,' by which it designates the falsehood contrary to the divine truth, to religion, which is called piety, whilst the contrary falsehood receives the name of impiety.*'"

The reader must have noticed how frequently St. Thomas quotes Aristotle, or simply, the philosopher as he frequently calls him. The reason of this will be found in the following circumstance. It is well known that Plato and Aristotle were the chiefs of pagan philosophy. The elegance of Plato gave his philosophy the greater vogue among the gentiles; and the most learned of the Christian fathers were, according to Alban Butler, educated in the maxims of his school. His noble sentiments on the attributes of the Deity, and particularly on Divine

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\* 1 Cor. iii. 10.

† John xviii. 37.

Providence, and his doctrine of the rewards and punishments of a future state seemed favourable to religion. And it cannot be doubted that he had learned in the course of his travels in Egypt and Phœnicia, many traditional truths delivered down from the patriarchal ages, which the corruption of idolatry had not wholly concealed or banished.

On the other hand, the philosophy of Aristotle was much in esteem among the Heathen; was silent as to all traditional truths, and contained some glaring errors, which several opponents of Christianity adopted against the religion of the gospel. It must, however, be acknowledged by all impartial judges, that Aristotle was the greatest and most comprehensive genius of antiquity, and that he was the only one that had laid down complete rules for, and explained the laws of, reasoning; and that he had given a thorough system of philosophy. It appears that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Peter Abelard and others made a bad use of Aristotle's philosophy. But above all, the Mahometans of Spain and Arabia wrote with incredible subtilty on his principles.

It was with their own weapons that St. Thomas opposed those enemies of the truth, and employed the philosophy of Aristotle in defence of the faith, in which he succeeded in a wonderful manner. He discerned and confuted Aristotle's errors, and set in a new and clear light the great truths of reason which that philosopher had enveloped in obscurity. Thus Aristotle, who was called the terror of Christians, "became" as Alban Butler says, "in the hands of Thomas, orthodox, and furnished faith with new arms against idolatry and atheism," for this admirable Doctor has corrected his errors, and shown that his whole subtle system of philosophy, as far as it is grounded on truth, is subservient to the cause of revelation.

This, Thomas has done through the nicest metaphysical speculations. He everywhere strikes out a new track for himself, and enters into the most secret recesses of their shadowy region, so as to appear new even on known and common place subjects. For his writings are original efforts of genius and reflection, and every point he treats in a manner to make it appear new. If his speculations are sometimes fine-spun, and his divisions run into niceties, it was in a great measure owing to the speculative and refining genius of the Arabians,

whom he had undertaken to pursue and confute throughout their whole system. But part of them no doubt must be attributed to the age in which he lived.

It would be highly interesting, did our space permit, to draw parallels between St. Thomas and some cotemporary philosophers, and especially Kant and Hegel. Let it suffice for this time, to observe that the language of these two German philosophers is so different from common language, or that they attach such uncommon meanings to the terms they use, that during their lifetime, and after their death, there was and has been the greatest contention in regard to their meaning, and that there are no two of their disciples who understand them in the same manner. It is the same confusion of words and ideas there was at Babel, but with different instincts. At Babel the object was to build up, here it was to pull down, to subvert—to subvert all truths, all institutions, divine as well as human—to put in their place nobody knows what. Far be it from us to judge of their intentions; we speak of the evident tendency of their systems.

How different is the case with the Neapolitan Doctor. The terms he uses are always in their common acceptance; he has no verbiage, no pompous expressions or phrases, and upon every subject he treats, he sheds new and important light, often, indeed, unexpected and astonishing, but always clear and convincing. And as to the tendency of his doctrine, or, if you will, his philosophy, it manifestly is not to deny or weaken, but, on the contrary, to assert and uphold every truth, no matter whether it is one that is divinely revealed, or one that pertains simply to the natural order.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Histoire de la Caricature Antique*; par CHAMPFLEURY. Deuxième Edition, très-augmentée. Paris: E. Dentu, 1867.
2. *Histoire de la Caricature Moderne*; par CHAMPFLEURY. Paris: E. Dentu, 1867.
3. *The Man in the Moon*. Edited by ALBERT SMITH and ANGUS B. REACH. London: Clarke, 1847–1848
3. *Punch; or, The London Charivari*. Vols I.–LIII. London, 1841–1868.

WHEN Fadladeen was called upon to give Lalla Rookh his critical opinion upon "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," he began by saying that in order to con-

vey with clearness his opinion of the story which Fera-morz had related, "it would be necessary to take a review of all the stories that had ever—" but he was called to order, and requested to speak only of the poem he had just heard. In like manner, were we to commence an article upon satirical literature, we should have to go back through the vanished ages, and this whole number would be filled with even the merest preliminary summary of the subject. If, added to this, we should treat satire illustrated by art, no reader would have perseverance to go through the record, or patience to wait until we came down to the present era. Therefore, content with endeavouring to convey some correct idea of satirical composition, pointed by caricature, we shall say little of the past. But we may mention that the ancients struck boldly, "with trenchant blade," as Spenser says, at the vices and follies of the time, and that Aristophanes and Lucian, Horace and Juvenal, have not been even approached, in after days, by any imitators. The satire of the present time, however lively and piquant, does not possess that strength which is the main element of vitality, and, as compared with the productions of the old writers, whose words were weapons, remind us only of the little arrows discharged by the gallant soldiers of Lilliput at the face of Lemuel Gulliver, which pricked him "like so many needles," but inflicted not the slightest permanent personal injury. The satire of the present age owes its point chiefly to the art of design. The text, separated from the comic illustrations, is usually tame and dull. The great humorists of antiquity, still read and relished for their wit and truth, were not given to the world with "choice engravings from designs by the most eminent comic artists."

Caricature, which implies exaggeration, can boast of great antiquity. Examples of it, from Assyria and Egypt, have been discovered in abundance. Pliny mentioned a Greek statue of a drunken woman, extremely like one of the old Egyptian drawings copied by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Lepsius published, in his great work on Egypt, a plate in which he reproduced some satirical drawings upon papyrus—now in the British Museum and in the Museum of Turin. The drawings in Turin, M. Théodule Devéna states, remain on the *débris* of a roll of papyrus, and their style closely resembles that of Grandville, the modern French caricaturist, who sketched human beings as animals, precisely as had been done in Egypt two thousand years

ago. Copies of these pictorial satires, from the plates of Lepsius, are given in the volume whose title heads our list, and are spirited and artistical. In the Old World, generally, satirical drawings of great antiquity remain.

The Greeks, not content with caricaturing Socrates, who bore it patiently, and the extremely ugly poet Hipponax, who retorted in cutting verse, did not spare royalty itself, and even drew burlesque sketches of Jupiter and Bacchus. There is a fresco in the Casa Carolina, at Pompeii, which represents a painter at work on a portrait in his *atelier*; it has seven figures, very small, but veritable caricatures, and the easel is shaped exactly like that now used by all painters. A fresco, of the story of Æneas and Anchises, in which the future founder of the Latin nation, bearing his father on his shoulders, and dragging his son after him by the hand, is represented—all three made to resemble animals—was discovered at Gragnano in 1760, and, curiously enough, is an undoubted burlesque of a marble group now in the Museum of Florence. But we need go no further with this part of our subject. Of course, no archæologist or connoisseur will acknowledge as genuine the extremely apocryphal fresco, pretended to have been found in Greece, some forty years ago, entitled, Ἐχὰς καὶ καλῆς, which represents an author following Fame, who, as she runs away, with a laurel wreath in one hand, holds the other up to her face, the thumb of its extended palm saucily applied to her nose, in the fashion familiarly entitled, "taking a sight."

The Greek legend was supposed to have been Fame's taunting exclamation. Some believers in the antiquity of this design were found, but it was a French quiz, probably suggested by a passage in Rabelais.

Our introduction is growing so long that we must check all desire to show what modern caricature has done in Continental Europe, in conjunction with written satire. Germany has several illustrated satirical journals. Italy has the *Fischietto*; and *Figaro*, the *Charivari*, and the *Journal pour Rire* have long flourished in France. Under the first Empire caricature was not safely exercised. One of the best hits was at Prince Borghese, who had married Napoleon's sister, Pauline. The prince was quiet and contented, obese and good-natured, but remarkably dull. The satirist placed him in the centre of a group of jackasses whom he regarded with peculiar self-complacency, exclaiming: "Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?" (where can one be happier

than in the bosom of his own family ?) which was the burden of a French song, very popular at the time.

The modern French caricaturists may be said to have first shown themselves during the reign of Louis Philippe. The principal, most of whom have contributed to the satirical journals, are Honoré Daumier, who first exhibited Louis Philippe as *Robert Macaire*; Charles Joseph Traviès de Villiers, who invented the type of *Mayeux*, corresponding with the Oriental *Karagueuz* and the Italian *Polichinello*; Henry Monnier, who created the types of *Madame Gibou* and *Joseph Prudhomme*, and Messieurs Charles Philipon, Pigal, Grandville, and Gavarni—the actual patronymic of the last of these was Sulpice-Paul Chevalier, just as Amadeus de Noe was better known during the last twenty years of his life as *Cham*, than by his true surname.

Caricature, or comic sarcastic art, cannot be regarded as having flourished in England until the time of George the Second. The first master in that line was William Hogarth. His "Marriage-à-la-Mode," now in the National Gallery of England, was a striking and satirical series, directed against the loose morals and bad manners of the time. The comedy of "The Clandestine Marriage," by the elder Colman and David Garrick, was professedly founded upon Hogarth's paintings: we use the names of Colman and Garrick in conjunction, because the dramatist and the actor united to produce that play. The part of Lord Ogleby, the most original part in the play, has generally been attributed to Garrick, though he refused to perform it. The younger Colman acknowledged, on his father's authority, that Garrick's share was a revision of the comedy, and the invention of the incidents in the last act where the various characters are brought forward from their beds to produce an explanation and the catastrophe. "The Rake's Progress," another well-known series by Hogarth, and his "Industry and Idleness" (the pictorial history of a good and a bad apprentice), were dramatized in our own time, with effect and success. The last-named series, though it has many comic points, is, indeed, a highly tragic history.

These performances, however, do not strictly belong to what is called caricature. Neither does "The Harlot's Progress." His illustrations to "Hudibras" first indicated Hogarth's decidedly satiric spirit, and are worthy of Butler's poetry, graphic as that is, and full of images of fun and humour. "The March to Finchley" might



have done duty as a scene in which our own militia of the last century were quizzed. Hogarth aimed at an eminent mark when, in "Burlington Gate," he ridiculed Pope, the poet, and Kent, the architect. "The Sleeping Congregation," and "The Distrest Poet," were bold hits at the social life of the time, and "The Enraged Musician," though designed to illustrate a passing event, is as racy as ever after more than a century. The most amusing of Hogarth's works is "The Strolling Actresses," full of life and fun. His portrait of Churchill, the satirist, as a bear, won the town to laugh with him, and his well-known likeness of John Wilkes, the result of an attack on Hogarth, in "The North Briton," though somewhat exaggerated, holds its ground as the best likeness of the great demagogue ever made. Hogarth added a few touches to a portrait of Wilkes which impressed the man's vices on the canvas, bringing out the sensuality of his character. It is said that, when finished, the painter, remembering his former friendship for Wilkes, threw it in the fire, from which his wife snatched it. In later years, so thorough was the actual likeness, that Wilkes, who could jest at his own expense, wrote in a letter to a friend, "I am growing every day more and more like my portrait by Hogarth."

Between the death of Hogarth in 1764, and the reign of Bunbury and Gilray, a long interval occurred. Henry William Bunbury, born in 1750, died in 1811, was second son of the Rev. William Bunbury. The baronetcy, conferred by Charles II. in 1681, is now held by the caricaturist's grandson. It was Bunbury's double misfortune to be above the necessity of working for his bread, and to use the pencil without being able to draw well. He was a genuine and would have been a great caricaturist, if his hand had been able to respond to the demands of his imagination. He drew faces with spirit and truth, and was at least tolerable when dealing with the human figure,—so long as it was arrayed in shapeless breeches, broad-skirted and loosely-hanging coats, capacious vests, grizzly perukes, and surrounded with an atmosphere of tobacco smoke. He drew men and women with as much sameness as if he were stereotyping them. A want of individuality is the great drawback on most of Bunbury's performances, and his accessories—cattle, furniture, and landscape—were sketchy, as well as generally incorrect. He was a great amateur, now and then showing unexpected ability. One of his pieces is the "Propagation of

a Lie ;" representing a long line of well-dressed people, "each in his turn adding something to a rumor, until it finally is swollen into a circumstantial falsehood ; every successive face, with a new expression, rising in the scale, from silliness to craft, from craft to mystery, and from mystery to the broad-faced impudence that delighted in a conscious fabrication." In the purely comic line, Bunbury's "Barber's Shop" is so excellent that neither Hogarth nor Cruikshank has surpassed it, either in imagination or execution. It is a show of faces in numerous varieties of being shaved : some, in the torture of beards rough as scrubbing-brushes, harshly dealt with by blunt razors—others with every feature enveloped in soap-suds—some rejoicing in the (perhaps unaccustomed) sensation of a perfectly smooth shave—more complacently gazing in the looking-glass at their improved looks. These, one might think, are scanty and intractable materials for the artist. But he has subdued the commonplace, and made it striking as well as real. A line, a dot, sometimes the mere "shadow of a shade," gives a feature or an expression with telling effect.

James Gilray, who flourished from 1780 to 1811, during which time he produced over twelve hundred satirical works, may be regarded as founder and master of personal pictorial satire in England. He was a Scotchman, who went as a journeyman engraver to London. He was a stout, bluff, muscular man, of low stature, in all respects deficient in and negligent of "the Graces," which Lord Chesterfield esteemed more highly than the Virtues. His brow was broad and bold ; his eyes deep-seated and stormy ; his voice harsh and angry ; his habits of life the reverse of refined. He had been unfortunate at home, and was scarcely more so in London. Conscious of ability, and angry because it was not recognized, he naturally fell into vigorous satire, and his first performance in that line had certain lords and ladies of the court for their object. They were accidentally seen ; and some politician, perceiving how useful such a talent might be for party purposes, gave him employment. Sir T. Erskine May, describing the first administration of the Duke of Portland (known as the Coalition Ministry ; it included Lord North and Charles James Fox, political enemies during many years ; was formed in April, 1783, and was dissolved by Mr. Pitt's coming into power in December the same year), says :—"Nor is it unworthy of remark, that art had come to the aid of letters in political contro-

versy. Since the days of Walpole, caricatures had occasionally portrayed ministers in grotesque forms and with comic incidents; but, during this period, caricaturists had begun to exercise no little influence upon popular feeling. The broad humour and bold pencil of Gilray had contributed to foment the excitement against Mr. Fox and Lord North; and this skilful limner elevated caricature to the rank of a new art. The people were familiarized with the persons and characters of public men; crowds gathered round the printsellers' windows; and as they passed on, laughing good-humoredly, felt little awe or reverence for rulers whom the caricaturist had made ridiculous. The press had found a powerful ally, which, first used in the interests of party, became a further element of popular force."\*

For more than twenty years, Gilray had no rival in the art which he had almost created. He was consistent, too, in his politics, and, throughout his long career, laughed at the Whigs. He had great facility of invention and execution, and remarkable aptitude for seeing and seizing the salient points of a subject. When the Whigs, between the Revolution of 1789 and the re-establishment of order in France under the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte, openly and secretly sympathized with the anarchists, Gilray pursued and exposed them with untiring and relentless satire.

He did not spare even Burke, after he had separated from Fox on that very question. During a debate in the Commons, in January, 1792, on the Alien Bill, Burke declared that three thousand daggers had been bespoken from a Birmingham manufacturer, of which seventy had been delivered; and it had not been ascertained how many of these were to be exported, and how many were intended for home consumption; drew out a dagger, which he had kept concealed in his coat-sleeve, threw it on the floor of the House with much theatrical vehemence, and then, pointing to the weapon, exclaimed:—"This is what you are to gain by an alliance with France; wherever these principles are introduced, then practice must follow." What was intended, perhaps previously rehearsed, to be impressive, became ludicrous, and was made almost farcical by one of the members picking up the weapon, and exclaiming, with mock sim-

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\* Constitutional History of England, vol. xi., p. 1234.

plicity:—"Here's the knife. I wonder where the fork can be!"

Within twenty-four hours of Burke's "oratorical acting," as it has been called, his portrait, by Gilray, was in all the printsellers' windows. It represents him in the act of flinging the dagger down, both of his hands tremulously pointing to it, his figure grotesquely drawn, and his very peculiar features most ludicrously represented. Charles Knight has given an engraving of this in his *Popular History of England*,\* and says, "so characteristic a likeness of Burke was never produced as in this sketch."

Gilray's popularity is based upon the fidelity of his portraitures as well as his great talent for presenting persons and incidents in ludicrous points of view. His principal works have been rescued from oblivion by republication since his death, in 1815. There was a re-issue in monthly parts, in 1824; another, 1830, by J. McLean, London, containing 304 sheets, with descriptions, and a third, within the last ten years, with a lively volume of letter press, by Mr. H. G. Bohn, London. Some of his best works are given in Wright's "England under the House of Hanover." Pitt, with his *nez retroussé*; Sheridan, with his beak, fed into a bulb by vinous bibations; Fox, with his round face, low forehead, black, beetling eyebrows, and clumsily rotund figure; Burke, with his hanging lip and eternal spectacles; Lord North, with his plump boyish face; Erskine, in his robes as "Counsellor Ego;" the Prince of Wales of that day, handsome even amid his unbounded license; Mrs. Fitzherbert, overgrown in figure, and with a face resembling a full moon; and, above all, the plain, frog-eyed face of George the Third, in which, now that we know him, simplicity and shrewdness seem mingled with obstinacy and insanity. There was one of Gilray's sketches representing George III. as one of the giants of Brobdignag, curiously examining Gulliver, who stands on the ample palm of his hand, which has never been surpassed. The Gulliver of the sketch is Napoleon Bonaparte, who had become formidable about that time. A companion to this was "Bonaparte, chief Baker of Europe," who is shown making gingerbread Kings; breaking up fragments of the Continent into dough, out of which these new potentates are to be formed; taking out of the oven some of

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\* Vol. vii., p. 254.

these completed, such as Naples, Spain, &c. ; thrusting in some more to be baked ; with a little row of future kings on a shelf (Fox, Sheridan, Grey, &c., recognizable among them) scarcely shaped and evidently to be finished another time.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, in January, 1806, the Whigs returned to ministerial office, and were soon known as "All the Talents," from some foolish boastings of their great ability by themselves and indiscreet friends. Gilray immediately produced what many have considered his best work. It is called "Making Decent," and represents Fox, Sheridan, and others of the new Ministry, who were known to be much impoverished by riotous and improvident living, in the act of dressing for the first levee, changing their tattered habiliments for Court suits, the whole group washing, shaving, powdering, and scrubbing. The satire was direct and personal, with strong force of truth ; the likenesses were perfect, and the laugh rang throughout England. But Gilray's career was near its close. He took the popular side, against the Duke of York, next brother of the Prince of Wales, who, in 1809, had to submit to a parliamentary inquiry, and popular indignation, on charges of having knowingly permitted Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, his mistress, to dispose, for money, of his patronage as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Gilray's mind gave way in 1811, and he died in 1815, in great poverty. He was a power in his time—vigorous, accurate, and sarcastic ; not often grotesque, with only occasional gaiety, but always driving the arrow home.

Thomas Rowlandson, though ranked among the caricaturists, scarcely deserves to be mustered in that corps. He was a Londoner, who had studied drawing at Paris and continued his studies in the Royal Academy, then under the presidency of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was over seventy at his death, in 1827. He is now known only by his grotesque illustrations of the three series of "Dr. Syntax," "The Dance of Life," and "The Dance of Death." These were published, as gaudily colored engravings, and are chiefly noticeable for their bold extravagance. His men, women, and children are drawn out of nature in figure, feature, and attitude. Some of his back-grounds are tolerable, but when Rowlandson's drawings excite the risible muscles, it is not so much in mirthful admiration as in almost contemptuous ridicule. Whoever will submit to waste an hour in looking at "Dr.

Syntax," will wonder how such a miserable work—the joint production of a worn-out pencil and a feeble pen—could have been popular, in England, half a century ago:—nay, it even was reproduced, in fac-simile, in this country, and had a large sale! The system upon which this work, with others by the same authors, was manufactured, was original, at least. William Coombe, who died at an advanced age in 1823, was a man of great learning and many accomplishments, who, after running through a couple of large fortunes, became a sort of pensioner upon the late Rudolph Ackermann, an enterprising German, who, settling in London, with some taste for, and knowledge of, the Fine Arts, became head of a large establishment, at 96 Strand, for the sale of paintings, engravings, and artists' and amateurs' materials.

He it was who introduced lithography, the accidental invention of Aloys Senefelder, his countryman, into England, as early as the year 1807. He was publisher and founder of "The Forget-me-Not," which, as the first English Annual, was "father of a line of Kings;" and he issued a Ladies' Magazine, "La Belle Assemblée," to which Coombe and Rowlandson contributed with pen and pencil. It was in this that "Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque," a rambling, desultory story in octosyllabic verse, first appeared as a serial. Rowlandson having designed and etched a comic exaggeration, a proof would be sent to Coombe, who was always to be found "at home," for he was, in his closing years, under perpetual arrest for debt, and lived within "the Rules" of the King's Bench Prison—said rules extending a considerable space around that doleful mansion. Within forty-eight hours after Coombe had received Rowlandson's design, the rhymed letter-press to illustrate it would be in the printers' hands, and this would be repeated for months, until, the subject getting exhausted, artist and rhymester would wind up. Rarely, if ever, did Coombe know what scene he would have to write up to, until he had Rowlandson's handiwork for the next month placed in his hands. In this manner "Dr. Syntax" was made, and, from its popularity, two other series were produced—one representing Syntax in search of Consolation, the other showing him in search of a Wife. After Coombe had killed off this clerical hero, in the last volume, so much regret was expressed at his loss, that Coombe wrote "The History of Johnny Quæ Genus" (a foundling of the late Syntax), and Rowlandson, as before, supplied

the plates. Yet this doggerel and this burlesque upon humorous art were popular and profitable, at the very time when Scott, Moore, Campbell, Southey, Wordsworth, and Byron, were enjoying the fulness of fame in England.

Thomas Rowlandson, with his vulgar burlesque and buffoonery, is not worthy of being named on the same day with George Cruikshank. The difference between them is like that between low farce and pure comedy. Not groundlessly did Christopher North say, in the immortal *Noctes*, George Cruikshank is far more than the prince of caricaturists; a man who regards the outgoings of life with the eye of genius; and he has a clear insight through the exterior of manners into the passions of the heart. He has wit as well as humour—feeling as well as fancy—and his original vein appears to be inexhaustible. It is as difficult, sometimes, to ascertain the age of an artist as it proverbially is to fix that of a—woman. That of Cruikshank has usually been set down rather loosely, as “he was born about the year 1796.” If so, he must have been an illustrator of *Magazines* at the precocious age of twelve, for we have on our table a copy of *The Scourge* (a scurrilous London magazine, of which more anon), published in 1808, a large engraving, etched by himself on copper, bold and free in the drawing, and very much in Gilray’s broadest manner. The subject is the Prince of Wales; and with a freedom that would not be tolerated now, he introduced no less a personage than Lady Yarmouth, afterwards Marchioness of Hertford, the favourite sultana at that time, who gets many sharp hits in Moore’s earlier satirical poems, particularly “The Twopenny Postbag.” The obese figure of the Prince (afterwards Byron’s “Leviathan of Royalty,” as George the Fourth), and his enormous whiskers, elaborate fictions, were literally hit off “to a hair” in this early caricature.

In that useful hand-book, “Men of the Time,” for 1867, Cruikshank is set down as having been born in London on September 27, 1792. This makes him now in his seventy-sixth year, and the veteran, notwithstanding his age, is the active colonel of a volunteer corps in London. His father, a clever water-colour draughtsman, who sometimes drew tolerable caricatures, put a pencil into his hands at an unusually early age, perceiving that he had a strong natural talent for drawing. He lost his father while yet a child, and was brought up by his elder brother, the late Robert Isaac Cruikshank, whose inferior productions

have sometimes been mistaken for *his*. Even while yet a schoolboy, George Cruikshank was employed to illustrate popular songs and children's books. His ambition led him to study in the Royal Academy, and he was admitted by Mr. Fuseli, Professor of Painting in that institution from 1799 to 1804, but received so little encouragement that he attended only once as a student, though he became an exhibitor at a much later date. He was the regular illustrator, from about 1806 until they perished from want of subscribers, of two monthlies, *The Scourge* and *The Meteor*, edited with abundant scurrility, and chiefly relying on the clever caricatures supplied by Cruikshank. After these magazines were discontinued, Cruikshank lived "from hand to mouth," for some years, principally by making political caricatures for publishers, without caring which party he raised the laugh against. One of these, certainly equal to any thing ever done by Gilray, appeared in 1815, after the Restoration of the Bourbons, and represented Louis XVIII. trying to pull on Bonaparte's boots,—a sharp hit at a brief attempt to govern the monarchy by the measures which had created the Empire.

At last came the accession of George the Fourth, followed by the persecution and prosecution of Caroline of Brunswick, the thoughtless and imprudent wife whom he had deserted even in their honeymoon, twenty-five years before. William Hone, who, in December, had narrowly escaped conviction in three distinct trials on charges of blasphemy, for having published parodies on parts of the Book of Common Prayer, had manfully defended himself, and, being acquitted, proved that every man who is his own lawyer does *not*, necessarily, have "a fool for his client." His Report of these three trials ran through nineteen editions in the next twelve months, and to the money thus gained was added a large sum raised by subscription among the ultra-liberals of that day, usually called Radicals, because they contended for "Radical Reform in Church and State." Hone, who had repeatedly failed in business as a bookseller (he never succeeded in any undertaking, except book-making, and even that brought him more fame than profit), went into the business again, and, taking advantage of the popular *furor* in favour of Queen Caroline, published a number of political and social satires in favour of her Majesty and against the King and his Ministers, the designs of which were supplied by Cruikshank, who took to his work with great spirit and



success. His name was well known among "the trade," for the London publishers of caricatures,—chiefly Humphrey of St. James's Street, Sidebotham of the Strand, Johnson of Cheapside, and Fores of Piccadilly,—had been almost exclusively supplied by him for some years. Among the most popular of the Cruikshank-Hone political satires were "The House that Jack Built," "The Political Showman at Home," "The Man in the Moon," "Poor Mr. Brendo," and "The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder,"—one hundred thousand copies of each of these being sold. Cruikshank rose with the occasion, and showed himself a great artist. The letter-press of these *brochures* was mostly written by Hone, whose "Every-Day Book" and "Table Book" now belong to the standard literature of England, and usually consisted of rattling-rhymes, easily retained in the memory. The greatest production of this class, however, was a "Slap at Slop," representing a newspaper, the size of the then broad sheet of *The Times*, in which Dr., afterwards Sir John, Stoddard, then editing "The Thunderer," was soundly ridiculed and berated, in company with the Prince Regent, Southey, the Constitutional Association, George Canning, Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Liverpool, and, more especially, the duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, the last nicknamed "Derrydown Triangle," to indicate at once his birthplace and the cruel whippings which he permitted, if he did not order, to be inflicted upon merely suspected persons in Ireland during the Rebellion of Ninety-eight. The whole was a parody upon a daily newspaper of the time; advertisements, articles of intelligence, leading articles, police reports, reviews of books, poetry, and miscellaneous paragraphs being cleverly burlesqued, with numerous illustrations, from Cruikshank's drawings interspersed through the whole. Even the parody of the Government red stamp was a political caricature in miniature. The *Slap at Slop* preceded the amusing publications which raised the public laugh against the Queen's opponents, had an enormous sale, at one shilling per copy. It has become so rare that George Cruikshank himself did not own a copy of it in 1850. Perhaps the only copy in the United States is that in our own possession. The Queen's death, in August, 1821, took away a profitable subject from Cruikshank, but there remained considerable fierceness and personality in British politics. Cruikshank, a liberal in grain, worked admirably for whoever paid him, at that

time, and hence his caricatures of Brougham, Grey, Mackintosh, Joseph Hume, Peter Moore, little Waddington, Sir Francis Burdett, Grey Bennet, and William Cobbett, were as amusing as those of their Tory rivals had previously been. But the hour of his deliverance from thus making bricks without straw was at hand.

There was a certain Pierce Egan in London half a century ago, who, being editor of a sporting paper, and the annalist of the prize-ring, had compiled several volumes, with portraits of noted pugilists, which he entitled "Boxiana." It had pleased Professor John Wilson, who was what Charles Kingsley calls "a muscular Christian," to write several articles in *Blackwood's Magazine*, highly eulogistic of these records of the Fancy, as well as of Sporting Anecdotes by the same author. These contributed to make Egan popular, and to him, therefore, Cruikshank applied to write a book illustrative of the mischievous, if pleasant, practices of seeing what was called "life" in the Modern Babylon. His original idea was to tell a story in a series of pictures,—*without* accompanying letter-press, if possible, which he accomplished in "The Bottle" five-and-twenty years later. Egan professed to enter into the artist's spirit, and began a serial tale, entitled "Life in London," which, as it proceeded, ran so entirely counter to the artist's purpose that he abandoned it in disgust, his brother Robert undertaking to finish the plates. This work, which was far more popular than even "Dr. Syntax" had been, was still more successful when dramatized, under the name of "Tom and Jerry." It is the nature of some authors to run a good idea into the earth. Therefore "Life in Paris" followed "Life in London," and there was a "Life in Ireland," redolent of *poteen* and resonant with the clangour of hostile shillalahs, which closed the series. But, though the *other* Cruikshank perpetrated the designs for these, George, who originated the plan, got the credit, which was not much. It made him better known, however, as a great deal more than a caricaturist. Publishers began to see that he was a winning card in their hands.

His first independent publication was "Points of Humour," the opening number of which appeared early in 1823, with a dozen etchings and fifty pages of well-written letter-press. *Blackwood's Magazine*, for July, 1823, gave an article of eight pages, praising this work, and thereby helped to establish its author's reputation. Henceforth,

he had as much employment as he could undertake, in illustrating books. Sometimes he etched his designs on copper, but generally drew them on wood for the engraver. He must have received a total of heavy payments from 1823 to 1868. Among the works which he illustrated literally with thousands of original designs, are Grimm's German Stories, Mornings in Bond-street, Tales of Irish Life, Hans of Iceland, the Epping Hunt, John Gilpin, Three Courses and a Dessert, Punch and Judy, the British Novelists, the Waverley Novels, numerous biographies, histories, and travels; poems and stories; many magazines; a number of Ainsworth's romances; Greenwich Hospital; Dickens's Sunday in London, Life of Grimaldi, Sketches by Boz, and Oliver Twist. His own publications proper, besides the Points of Humour, are Illustrations of Time, Illustrations of Phrenology, My Sketch-Book, Cruikshank's Omnibus (in conjunction with the late Laman Blanchard), and The Table Book. He also published Cruikshank's Comic Almanac, illustrated by himself, and the letter-press by the best writers of light literature, which appeared long before *Punch* was established, and flourished for some years after. In the last thirty years, Cruikshank has been the advocate, by precept, practice, and pencil, of the Temperance question. Latterly, he has painted a good deal in oils, successfully shown in the Royal Academy Exhibition, but his latest and largest oil-painting, which he took down to Windsor Castle in 1863, at the request of Queen Victoria, is "The Worship of Bacchus," from which an engraving has been made. Mr. Cruikshank is an effective public speaker, and was one of the best amateur performers in Charles Dickens's dramatic entertainments for the benefit of the Guild of Literature and Art. He has a small pension from the Crown. It is singular that, with his great powers as a pictorial satirist, George Cruikshank has not contributed to *Punch*. In his own Omnibus and Table Book are several satirical illustrations far superior in merit to most of those in the professedly comic periodicals.

There is now on the press, in London, a "Caricature History of the Georges; or, Annals of the House of Hanover: compiled from the Squibs, Broad-sides, Window-Pictures, Lampoons, and Pictorial Caricatures of the Time;" from the pen of Mr. Thomas Wright, the translator into English of the Emperor Napoleon's "Vie de Jules César," and editor of the collection of Gilray's

caricatures, mentioned in the text, and author of the *History of Caricature*. It will contain nearly four hundred illustrations from the caricatures of Gilray, Bunbury, Rowlandson, and other masters of pictorial satire.

The last professional caricaturist in England was Mr. John Doyle, who had learned to draw horses in Ireland, of which he was a native, but, soon after he settled in London, discovered that he could draw their riders at least as well. From 1830 to 1850, his caricatures, known as "Sketches by H. B.," were almost "alone in their glory,"—their peculiar merit being that in them were united strength and grace, and that, however ridiculous he sometimes made his personages appear, he never made them vulgar. He seized upon public men and public things, and his satire was gentle rather than incisive. He was happy in always making admirable likenesses, rarely running into exaggeration. Of course, he did not take pains to soften down the exuberance of Brougham's nose; to mitigate the palpable Hibernianism of O'Connell's good-natured face; to subdue the plausible expression of Peel's countenance; to make Lord Morpeth look less like John Liston, the actor; to throw intelligence into the face of King William, or humanity into that of his brother of Cumberland; to make Wellington's outline less rigid, or diminish the hauteur of Lord Grey, or add a cubit to the diminutive stature of Lord John Russell, or thin the flowing curls of Lord Ellenborough. His portraits were liked, were laughed at, but were never vulgar. It was truly said of him that "he was an innately refined artist." Some of his portraits were far above caricature—for example, those of Charles Butler and Sir William Follett, both of whom prematurely passed away from public life, just when their great talents had been recognized. Butler, had he lived, would probably have occupied the place in political life now held by Mr. Gladstone, and Sir William Follett was recognized as the inevitable and indispensable Lord Chancellor whenever the Tories returned to office. The H. B. likenesses of these eminent men were highly artistical, and better than any of the more elaborate portraits executed by professional limners. Mr. Doyle's drawing was frequently incorrect, but he never failed to produce a pleasing sketch. Many of his subjects were suggested to him by newspaper comments on public personages and events, and the rapidity with which he worked added to his popularity. He drew his sketch on

the stone, and it was lithographed with the least possible delay. A leader in the *Times* or the *Morning Chronicle* gave the idea, and within forty-eight hours an H. B. sketch had embodied it. Before the shop-window of Mr. Thomas McLean, in the Haymarket, when a new H. B. was exhibited, a crowd of amused persons would stand, enjoying the wit which it embodied. His satire was very gentle—if satire could be genial, his was. For years he amused the town, until *Punch* hurled him from the throne, his own son Richard being one of *Punch's* artists, and having produced over a thousand sketches. They were largely popular, not in England alone, but in foreign countries, and found their way, with due regularity, to enliven even the privacy of monarchs. They were pictorial readings, in fact, of political and social life in England for twenty years. Entire sets, which are still in request so largely in Australia, which has supported a clever *Punch* of its own for several years, and command great prices in the market. Mr. Doyle, who died in January, 1868, was a very undemonstrative, though unmistakeably an Irish gentleman, courteous in manner, much opposed to gossip and *scan. mag.*, taking a kindly view of human nature, and, it is recorded to his credit, “never making use of material gathered in private to wing his pencil.” He was fortunate in his domestic relations, and his children, most of whom are artists, have won success, like himself, in an honourable manner.

Any sketch, however rapid, of English pictorial satire, would be imperfect if it neglected to mention a remarkable series of illustrations, with racy letter-press, which were very attractive for several years in *Fraser's Magazine*. It was entitled “The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters,” now generally named as “The Frasersian Portraits.” About the year 1829, the connexion of the late Dr. William Maginn with *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was suspended for a time. Maginn had quitted his native city of Cork, having established himself in London as associate editor of *The Standard*, then, as now, a powerful Tory afternoon journal, had latterly contributed less to and drawn more money from *Blackwood* than its proprietor approved of, and the result was that Maginn ceased to contribute for some years, with the resolution of establishing a London magazine, to be chiefly under his own control. At that time he was in his thirty-fifth year, learned, able, ready, full of talent, and with an established reputation as the

renowned Sir Morgan O'Dogherty of Maga. He soon was enabled to gratify his ambition, and the first number of *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* appeared in February, 1830, and certainly was much unlike the *Gentleman's*, with its heavy antiquarian articles—the *London*, prematurely worn out—the *Monthly*, always dull—the *New Monthly*, which had little vitality during Campbell's dozing and almost nominal editorship, and the *Imperial*, which circulated chiefly among the religious community. There was room, just then, for a new and dashing magazine in London, and no one could complain of the want of spirit, talent, and variety in *Fraser*. Maginn was its head, with a proprietor and a publisher, who had money and business habits, which *he* never possessed. Maginn gathered around him a number of eminent and available contributors. In the first volume he had articles, in prose or verse, from Southey, Lockhart, Hogg, Basil Hall, Allan Cunningham, John Galt, Crofton Croker, T. Haynes Bayly, "Barry Cornwall," John Kenyon, Moir (the "Delta" of *Blackwood*), Miss Jewsbury, "The Harrovian," J. A. Horaud, L. E. L., and S. T. Coleridge. The magazine, saucy, clever, and full of life, was strong from the first, but its great and decided hit was made in the fifth number, when appeared the portrait of William Jerdan, editor of the *Literary Gazette*, then a ruling power in the English world of letters.

This was a full-length sketch, showing Jerdan, who was very well known, sitting in his study reading a manuscript, and was scarcely a caricature. Facing it, was a page of bantering letter-press, which pretended to be a biography. The last portrait of the series appeared seven years later than the first, each with a single racy page of pleasantry and satire, almost invariably written by Maginn. Dr. Macnish, author of "The Philosophy of Drunkenness," who met Maginn in London, during the palmy days of *Fraser*, wrote to a friend in Scotland:—"The letter-press of the Gallery of Literary Portraits he hit off at a moment's notice, and in the course of a few minutes." They were among his most racy productions. Lockhart wrote the lively remarks on Maginn's own portrait, Carlyle did the same for that of Goethe, and the Ettrick Shepherd supplied the notice of Sir David Brewster—his most racy production.

There were eighty-one plates in the Fraserian gallery, containing portraits of eight female and seventy male

authors or publicists. There also were groups of the Fraserians, the Antiquarians, and Regina's Maids of Honour. The sum total was one hundred and two portraits, chiefly of living celebrities, at least half of whom had contributed to *Fraser*. Sometimes the likenesses were dashed with caricature. That of Rogers, who looked more like a ghost than a living man during the thirty years of his existence, was said to have been "done to the death." Miss Martineau was drawn as an old maid, cooking a posset in a saucepan by the fire, with a cat on her shoulder; but the other seven ladies were kindly dealt with, particularly L. E. L., whose pretty little face was most elaborately worked up. The peculiar head and figure of Scott were admirably represented, and the portraits of Theodore Hook, Thomas Carlyle, Sir David Brewster, Leigh Hunt, Grant Thorburn, Beranger, Jane Porter, Lady Morgan, Cobbett, Mrs. Norton, Delta, Faraday, Fraser, and Maginn himself, are very good. The Rev. Sydney Smith was the last of the series, and his good-humoured face and clumsily pinguid figure were recognizable by every one who had once seen him. The likeness of Robert Montgomery was keenly satirical, but his vanity deserved a reproof. On the whole, there was very little bad feeling observable in these portraits, which, for about eight years, were a great point of attraction in *Fraser*. Seven foreigners were introduced, of whom Washington Irving was the only American.

As general readers may not be able to refer to the first seventeen volumes of *Fraser* containing these portraits, we shall gratify them by giving a list, in the order in which they appeared:—William Jerdan, editor of the *Literary Gazette*; Thomas Campbell, editor of the *New Monthly*; John Gibson Lockhart, editor of the *Quarterly*; Samuel Rogers, author of the "Pleasures of Hope;" Thomas Moore, author of "Lalla Rookh;" Walter Scott, author of "Waverley;" John Galt, author of a "Life of Byron;" William Maginn, "The Doctor;" T. Crofton Croker, author of "The Irish Fairy Legends;" Caroline Norton, author of "The Undying One;" John Wilson, editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*; Miss Mitford, author of "Our Village;" Don Telesforo de Trueba y Cosio, author of a comedy called "The Exquisites;" the Earl of Munster, author of a "Journey from India to England;" Lord John Russell, author of "Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe;" John Wilson Croker, editor of "Boswell's Johnson;" Tydus-pooh-pooh, Our Man of Genius,

translator of the "Poetry of the Sandwich Islands" (intended to ridicule Sir John Bowring); Washington Irving, author of the "Sketch-Book;" Lord Brougham and Vaux, editor of "The Times" (which he was *not*); Robert Montgomery, author of "Satan;" Prince de Talleyrand, author of "Palmerston, une Comédie de Deux Ans;" James Morier, author of "Hadji Baba in England;" Countess of Blessington, author of "Conversations with Lord Byron;" The Tiger (Dr. William Dunlop), author of "Sketches of Upper Canada;" Benjamin Disraeli, author of "Vivian Gray;" Thomas Carlyle, translator of "Wilhelm Meister;" Edward Lytton Bulwer (Lord Lytton), author of "The Siamese Twins;" Allan Cunningham, author of "Lives of the British Painters;" William Wordsworth, author of "The Excursion;" Sir David Brewster, author of the "Life of Newton;" William Roscoe, author of the "Life of Lorenzo de Medici;" James Hogg, author of "The Chaldee Manuscript;" the Baron von Goethe, author of "Faust;" Isaac Disraeli, author of "Life and Character of Charles I.;" a few of the F. S. A.'s, viz., Lord Aberdeen, Jerdan, Crofton Croker, Disraeli, sen., John Bowyer Nichols, Sir Henry Ellis, Sir Nicholas Carlisle, Robert Lemon, of the Record Office, William H. Henry Rosser, John Frost, Alfred John Kempe, William Brooke, the artist, John Caley, Henry Hallam, William R. Hamilton, Davis Gilbert, members, and Mr. Martin, clerk, of the Society of Antiquaries; Louis Eustache Ude, author of "The French Cook;" Rev. Dr. Dionysius Lardner, editor of the "Cabinet Cyclopædia;" Samuel Taylor Coleridge, author of "Christabel;" George Cruikshank, author of "Illustrations of Time;" Dr. David M. Moir (Delta), author of "The Life of Mansie Wauch;" Miss L. E. Landon, author of "Romance and Reality;" Miss Harriet Martineau, author of "Illustrations of Political Economy;" Grant Thorburn, the *Original* "Lawrie Todd;" Sir John Ross, author of "Voyage to Baffin's Bay;" Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, author of "Mary de Clifford;" Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel (on one plate); Theodore Hook, author of "Sayings and Doings;" Charles Molloy Westmacott, editor of "*The Age*;" Leigh Hunt, author of "Byron and his Contemporaries;" The Fraserians, a group assembled in January, 1835, after dinner, Dr. Maginn in the chair, and Mr. James Fraser as "croupier," consisting of the following twenty-five contributors:—Barry Cornwall (Proctor), Robert Southey,



Percival W. Banks, W. M. MacKeray, John Churchill, Sergeant Murphy, Robert Macnish, W. H. Ainsworth, S. T. Coleridge, James Hogg, John Galt, William Dunlop, William Jerdan, Crofton Croker, J. G. Lockhart, Theodore Hook, Sir David Brewster, Dr. Moir, Thomas Carlyle, Count D'Orsay, Allan Cunningham, Sir Egerton Brydges, Rev. G. R. Gleig, Rev. Francis Mahony ("Father Prout"), Rev. Edward Irving. This plate was reproduced, in 1860, as frontispiece to a new edition of the "Reliques of Father Prout." Charles Lamb, author of "Elia;" Pierre-Jean de Beranger, author of "Les Souvenirs du Peuple;" Jane Porter, author of "Thaddeus of Warsaw;" Lady Morgan, author of "O'Donnel;" Alaric A. Watts, editor of the "Literary Souvenir;" William Harrison Ainsworth, author of "Rookwood;" Thomas Hill, author of "The Mirror of Fashion;" Rev. G. R. Gleig, author of "The Subaltern;" William Godwin, author of "Caleb Williams;" James Smith, one of the authors of "Rejected Addresses;" Comte D'Orsay, author of "A Journal;" Lord Francis Egerton (Earl of Ellesmere), translator of Goethe's "Faust;" Henry O'Brien, author of "The Round Towers of Ireland;" Michael Thomas Sadler, author of "The Law of Population;" William Cobbett, author of "The Political Register;" Earl of Mulgrave, author of "Yes and No;" Robert Macknish, author of "The Anatomy of Drunkenness;" Regina's Maids of Honour—a ladies' tea-party, consisting of Mrs. S. C. Hall, L. E. Landon, Lady Morgan, Hon. Mrs. Norton, Lady Blessington, Jane Porter, Harriet Martineau, and Miss Mitford; Michael Faraday, author of "Chemical Manipulations;" Rev. W. L. Bowles, author of "Fourteen Sonnets, 1786;" Francis Place, author of "Principles of Population;" Sir John C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), author of "The Miscellany;" Mrs. S. C. Hall, author of "The Buccaneer;" Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, author of "Ion;" Sir John Seare, author of "Designs of Buildings;" Lord Lyndhurst, author of "Summary of the Session" (annual speech at close of Parliamentary Session); Edward Ledge, author of "Memoirs of Illustrious Personages;" J. B. Buckstone, author of "Victorine;" this appeared in December, 1836, and no other portraits were given until March and April, 1838, when the series wound up with Sir William Molesworth, editor of the *London and Westminster Review*, and (perhaps the best of the whole, much in Gilray's own style) the Rev. Sydney Smith,

author of "Peter Plymley's Letters on the Catholics."

So closed a series which pen and pencil united to make the best that ever appeared. It is unique and rare—the more so because, owing to the expense of lithographing so many plates, it is not likely ever to be republished. The writer of this possesses a complete set, with other engraved portrait-views, printed biographies, autograph letters, obituary notices from *The Times* and other Journals, and numerous other illustrative clippings. On looking through them, whilst writing this article, we see how busily Death has been employed in thinning their ranks. Out of one hundred and two persons portrayed in the Fraserian Gallery in 1830-'38, only eighteen survive. These are Ainsworth, the novelist; Buckstone, the author-actor; Bulwer, now Lord Lytton; Thomas Carlyle; George Cruikshank; Benjamin Disraeli; Sir John Bowring; Rev. G. R. Gleig; Sir J. C. Hobhouse, now Lord Broughton; William Jerdan; Lord John Russell; Mrs. S. C. Hall; Miss Martineau; Hon. Mrs. Norton; Barry Cornwall; Sir Henry Ellis; and Messrs. Kempe and Rosser. Within the present year, Sir David Brewster, Mr. Faraday, and Lord Brougham have departed.

Much curiosity was excited, while these Fraserian portraits were being published, as to their authorship. A few of them were marked *A. Croquis*, which was supposed, for a long time, to be identical with *Alfred Crowquill*, a pseudonyme assumed by Mr. Alfred Henry Forrester, professional author and amateur artist, who, while a public notary in the Royal Exchange of London, a lucrative office which had been held by members of his family for over one hundred and fifty years, began his literary career by publishing a volume of comic prose and verse ("Leaves from my Memorandum Book"), with illustrations of his own. This, and a volume of "Eccentric Tales," appeared in 1826, and during the next two years he produced several clever caricatures, ridiculing the exaggerated fashions of feminine attire then prevalent. He wrote a great deal, during the next thirty years, in the periodical literature of the day, and, indeed, though now past the age of sixty, his pen and pencil are not allowed to rest. He has exhibited clever pen-and-ink drawings in the Royal Academy, has painted in oils; he also engraves and models. He was one of the first artists employed to illustrate *Punch*, and one of his works is "A Bundle of Crowquills." The actual portrait-taker of

*Fraser's Magazine* was Daniel Maclise, R. A., the eminent historical painter, whom Dr. Maginn had known as a promising lad in Cork, and with whom he became very intimate when, two years before *Fraser* was commenced, the youth, then only seventeen years old, settled in London, with the purpose of making painting his profession.

Maclise, who was born in Cork, in January, 1811, is now among the most distinguished British artists, and his latest historical works, in the new Palace of Westminster—"The Death of Nelson" and "The Meeting of Wellington and Blucher after Waterloo"—place him without a superior. Among his most valued productions are a few portraits, full of truth and character, and his facility in catching a likeness is so great that, in his early days in Ireland, being present at a masquerade got up for a charitable purpose, he personated an itinerant artist, rapidly making grotesque sketches of the persons present, which were sold on the spot for the benefit of the charity. This, with a faculty of remembering and a power of drawing faces which he met in society, well qualified him for what he did for *Fraser's Magazine*, to which he also was a poetical contributor. The French word *Croquis* (a sketch) was affixed as a signature to denote the slight manner of his pencillings. In January, 1840, after the "Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters" had been closed, *Fraser* opened with a long article recapitulating what the magazine had done in its first ten years, and the credit of producing the portraits was given to Maclise. In every biographical notice of him, this is boldly stated, and, if this were not sufficient to establish the fact, we have Mr. Maclise's own acknowledgment of it.

Having enumerated the leading British caricatures, previous to those fostered, almost created, by *Punch*, it may not be uninteresting to mention some preceding periodicals in which the writer called in the aid of the artist to sharpen his barbs. *The Scourge*, which George Cruikshank illustrated in his youth, with a highly-coloured large caricature, was coarse in politics, morals, satire, and authorship. It is extremely scarce, but its seven volumes, coming down to the Regency (January, 1811), are to be seen in the British Museum. It was violent in abuse of public men, and was eternally in hot water. There is little reason to question the statement that its publication was terminated, as old Trapbois would say, "for a consideration"—the Prince Regent thinking it worth while to purchase editor and publisher.

*Figaro in London*, the first number of which appeared in 1830, as a weekly publication, struggled on through eight years, under a succession of editors and publishers. Its title-head included a wood-cut of a barber dressing the Whigs, and it was said that the operator was intended to represent Mr. Sugden (now Ex-Chancellor Lord St. Leonards), who, as a bitter Tory, was personally obnoxious to the Whigs, then in office. He was a barber's son, who had risen by talent and labor to a leading station at the bar, and surely it was bad taste, in a publication intended by its low price and popular character, to reach the masses, to sneer at humble birth. Its first and ablest editor was Gilbert Abbott A'Beckett, son of a London attorney, well educated, with an innate tendency to satire and humour, very liberal political feelings, and a decided taste for theatrical performances and actors' society. When he began his work as editor, he was little more than twenty years old. He took the Paris *Figaro* for his model, and produced a sharp, clever, amusing little paper, in which parliamentary reform was fiercely advocated and the gossip of the town and the theatres pleasantly retailed. *Figaro* could scarcely be called vulgar. Its main points were adopted by *Punch*, with which Mr. A'Beckett became connected for many years. He was called to the bar in 1841, and after serving as assistant poor law commissioner, became a writer on *The Times*. Through the friendship of the late Mr. Charles Buller, he was made one of the London police-magistrates, bringing good feeling and sound common-sense into the performance of his duties. His connexion with *Punch* continued until his death, in 1856. He wrote numerous successful plays, but his literary reputation rests upon his "Comic Blackstone" (in *Punch*), and his comic histories of Rome and England, illustrated by John Leech.

The success of *Figaro* challenged competition, and *Punchinello* appeared in 1832. It was a penny weekly, of four pages, to which Robert and George Cruikshank contributed the wood-cuts. Next arose *Asmodeus; or, The Devil in London*, illustrated by Robert Seymour, the gifted but unfortunate first illustrator of "Pickwick," who committed suicide before he could make the drawings for Mr. Dickens' second number. *Asmodeus*, lived for nine months, and failed from want of proper business management. The collected numbers, under the title of "The Devil's Memorandum-Book," were repub-

lished in 1833. *Dibdin's Penny Trumpet* was blown for four weeks, in 1832, and *The Schoolmaster at Home*, which abused the leading Tories and Queen Adelaide in every number, was almost as short lived. *Figaro*, which increased the number and improved the character of its wood-cuts, outlived numerous rivals which imitated its appearance and arrangement, without exhibiting its talent. *The Town* was established by Renton Nicholson, who obtained a doubtful reputation as founder of the legal burlesque, so popular in London twenty years ago, known as the Judge and Jury Society. Nicholson, a man of considerable ability and moderate education, began life as a pawnbroker's clerk, and was successively a billiard-marker, a "bonnet" in a gambling house, landlord of the Garrick's Head theatrical tavern, and, finally, a pauper. *The Town*, though obscene and profane, was well written, well illustrated, and well managed. It had a very large circulation, for three years, dying in 1841. Contemporary with it were several short-lived weeklies, of which *The Wag* was the least offensive. There was also *The Thief*, which was true to its title, for the letter-press was all stolen, and the wood-cuts were old customers. *Cleave's Gazette of Variety* and *The Oddfellow*, which appeared about this time, were illustrated with original designs by Henry Meadows, William Harvey, and Robert Seymour, and had the merit, at least, of being decent.\*

By this time, the success of the French comic and satirical illustrated journals being notorious, certain young writers in London—of whom it may be said, not offensively, but to distinguish their grade, that they belonged to the class of Bohemians—agreed to establish a satirical comic weekly paper, on the plan of *Figaro*. They had been in the habit of meeting, for social purposes, at a small tavern in Wych Street, Covent Garden, of which Mr. Mark Lemon was landlord. Better educated than most of the class to which he thus and then belonged, and only thirty-two years old, Mr. Lemon was very popular with his customers, one of whom was Mr. Henry Mayhew, also well educated, whose father was a solicitor, in good practice in London, and whose three brothers have since distinguished themselves in various

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\* We are indebted for some of the statements here, respecting *Punch's* predecessors, to an article on Comic Literature, in *The Bookseller*, a London literary journal, for August, 1867. It is not always quite correct in its dates, but we have found it very suggestive.

departments of literature. Mr. Mayhew, who was three years younger than Mr. Lemon, had begun his literary career by bringing out, in conjunction with Mr. Gilbert à Beckett, the farce of the "Wandering Minstrel," at the Queen's Theatre, London, and Mr. Mark Lemon had already been successful with three or four of the sixty dramatic pieces whose paternity he acknowledges, and had occasionally written for newspapers. It is admitted that Henry Mayhew suggested the establishment of *Punch*. There was, just then, much political excitement in England. The administration of Lord Melbourne, which had succeeded that of Earl Grey, had gradually lost favour, not only in the reformed House of Commons but in public estimation; had been compelled to resign office in 1839, when outvoted on a question connected with the government of Jamaica; had crept back into place, without resuming power, on Sir Robert Peel's declining to form a cabinet unless the wives and daughters of his political opponents were removed from certain confidential posts near the person of the queen; had remained in office solely by the tolerance of Peel, who virtually controlled the votes of the House of Commons; had been repeatedly outvoted in 1840; had "appealed to the country" by a general election; and finally, when the first number of *Punch* appeared, on July 17th, 1841, the new Parliament was on the eve of assembling, with every prospect of Sir Robert Peel and his political adherents driving Lord Melbourne's cabinet into retirement—an event which took place within six weeks.

There has been little change in twenty-seven years in the general appearance and arrangement of *Punch*. The original title-page contained a rough wood-cut, representing a peripatetic theatre, in which the serio-comic history of Punch and Judy is represented, almost every fine day in the year, in the streets of London, for the hereditary gratification of the men, women, and children of that overgrown city. Ere long, when young Richard Doyle came in as one of the artists, he designed that striking title-page, or cover, in which the dog, Toby, with a frill round his neck, a feather in his cap, and a countenance grave in its aspect as that of Lord Thurlow, sits at ease upon a pile formed of volumes of *Punch*, and the facetious hunchback, pen in hand before his desk, puts one of his digitals to his nose, in a confidential manner, with a leer to match, which informs the happy reader that he has just got a facetious idea, to be put down in black and

white ere he is twenty seconds older. *Punch* has "or the London Charivari" for its second title. As Mr. à Beckett had used up the word *Figaro*, Messrs. Mayhew and Lemon were compelled to take the name of *Charivari*, the publication which M. Philipon had given to that formidable rival of *Figaro*, which he had founded in 1832. The title had been borrowed by Mr. Hughes, of *The Times*' staff, for a monthly publication, published a few months in 1840, conducted by himself and entitled, *The London Magazine, Charivari, and Courrier des Dames*—a work to be remembered now only as the medium through which John Leech, the artist, first came before the public; he illustrated a serial, in that short-lived work, called "Adventures of Jacob Diddledoft." Even the principal title of *Punch* was not original. In the biography of Douglas Jerrold, by his son, it is mentioned that "On the 14th January, 1832, '*Punch in London*,' price one penny, was started; and in the first number may be most legibly traced the pen that afterwards indited in the great *Punch* of the present time, 'The 2 Letters,' and 'The Story of a Feather.'" He adds that *Punch in London* lived only a few weeks, and he had not traced his father's hand in it beyond the second number.

Douglas Jerrold was in Boulogne, his son says, "writing for the stage and for the magazines, when, on the 17th of July, 1841, some literary friends of his, including Mr. Henry Mayhew, Mr. Mark Lemon, Mr. E. Landells, Mr. Sterling Coyne, Henry Grattan, and others, started a periodical entitled *Punch; or, the London Charivari*." Mr. Mayhew, he says, was the projector of this work, and as Mayhew was Douglas Jerrold's son-in-law, this ought to settle that question. Jerrold was requested to contribute, but no article of his reached London in time for number one. In the second number, occupying precisely a full page, opposite the cartoon (No. 2 of "*Punch's Pencillings*"), appeared a dialogue, entitled "*Punch and Peel*," in which are discussed the policy and expected organization of Peel's impending administration. This was Jerrold's first contribution, and during the next sixteen years (until his death, in 1857), he wrote more or less for every number of *Punch*. The cartoon which faced this was appropriate, and it is doubtful whether, in any subsequent number, there was keener pictorial satire. Love of office has always been Lord John Russell's weakness, and he exhibited it very fully in 1839-41.

Lord Melbourne, who was a sort of *poco curante* premier, was heartsick of his situation, and, having reached his grand climacteric, was anxious to abandon the turmoil of politics. Lord John Russell, like Prior's hero, "seemed loath to depart," and clung to office after repeated defeats. Mr. Archibald S. Henning's cartoon was entitled "Hercules tearing Theseus from the rock to which he had grown," and this subject (in *Punch*) was explained by a statement that "Apollodorus relates that Theseus sat so long on a rock that, at length, he grew to it, so that when Hercules tore him forcibly away, he left all the nether part of the man behind him." The modernized scene was placed in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell was represented as seated on the Treasury Bench. Behind him, with faces exhibiting great alarm, were Lord Morpeth, Joseph Hume, and other colleagues or adherents. Peel, wearing the hide of the Nemean lion and carrying an enormous club, was depicted with a grasp upon Lord John's throat, so strong, that it pulled him up from the waist, leaving his nether part adhering to the bench.

The popularity of *Punch* was assured from the first number, but the expenses of advertising (always heavy in London), of composition, printing, paper, designing, and engraving, exceeded the proprietor's means—to say nothing of the cost of letter-press. After a few weeks, Henry Mayhew abandoned the enterprise, and a small sum (one hundred pounds, it is said), was paid for copyright, back-numbers, stereotypes, and wood engravings; Messrs Bradbury & Evans, then not long in business as printers, being the purchasers. They placed the editorship in Mark Lemon's hands, and he still retains it. Their confidence was not misplaced, for to his excellent judgment may be largely attributed the success and influence of *Punch*.

Albert Smith was early on the literary staff, to which he contributed largely, though his connexion with it did not last long. His "Physiology of the London Medical Student," and of "London Evening Parties," were very amusing. Dr. Maginn was a writer in *Punch*, but he died in August, 1842, when it was little more than a year old. To the first volume he gave some rhymed translations, or rather paraphrases, of Anacreon and Petronius. To the second volume, when his life was ebbing away, he contributed eight articles, the best of which was a rhymed review of "Hector O'Halloran," an Irish story by



his friend W. H. Maxwell : it is chiefly noticeable for the ingenuity with which rhymes for the word O'Halloran were found. Horace Mayhew wrote "Model Men and Women," and Henry continued to contribute very suggestive ideas for the artist. Thackeray came in, after Maginn's death, in the third volume, and soon became a power. His illustrations of his own articles, not artistical but ludicrous and expressive, greatly helped his popularity—but The Snobs of England, Jeames's Diary, Punch's Prize Novelties, Mr. Brown's Letters to a Young Man about Town, and the Travelling Notes of the Fat Contributor, would have been popular without the aid of the pencil. Mr. Thackeray did not write much for *Punch* after his first visit to the United States. He was better liked, by the readers of *Punch*, than Jerrold, whose political articles were vehement in their denunciation of public men and principles. But the most popular series that ever delighted the readers of *Punch* was Jerrold's "Curtain Lectures, reported by Mr. Job Caudle, from the lips of his late Wife." The heroine is said to have been drawn from life, which can well be believed ; Mr. Caudle was the most popular personage ever presented by *Punch*. As if to prove the correctness of the generally accepted belief that sequels to popular literary productions are rarely successful, a subsequent series, in one of *Punch's Almanacs*, which introduced Mr. Caudle cruelly tyrannizing over Miss Prettyman, his second wife, in hard lectures at the breakfast-table, proved an ostentatious failure. "Punch's Letter to his Son," and "Complete Letter-Writer," were very good, sardonic and sharp ; and "The Story of a Feather," is admirably told. He had begun, in *Punch*, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," and "Mrs. Bib's Baby," but they did not hit the public taste, and were suddenly stopped. Jerrold might have said, with Beau Brummell's valet, when carrying off the creased muslin cravats, "These are our failures."

Shirley Brooks was among the early writers in *Punch*, in which his "Miss Violet" may have blushed, but not unseen. Angus B. Reach, a clever Scotchman, who died of literary overwork, was on the staff of *Punch*—but, indeed, some of the best literary talent in London was tempted into its pages, now and then, by ample remuneration. "Mr. Pips, his Diary," a very amusing series, was written by Percival Leigh. Mr. Tom Taylor, the dramatist, was a contributor. Thomas Hood was an-

nounced, in the very first number, somewhat to his own surprise, but did not write for it until some months later, and then only a few short articles. In the Christmas number for the year 1843 appeared his "Song of the Shirt," which almost every one has by heart now, and "The Pauper's Christmas Carol," almost as good. His son mentions, as his only other contribution of any importance, a poem entitled "The Dream," *apropos* of the State Trials in Ireland; also, a "Drop of Gin," illustrated by Kenny Meadows, and a very few wood-cuts. During what is called the Railway Mania of 1845-6, a great number of the telling points against speculators (nicknamed *Stags*) were supplied by clever young members of the Stock Exchange. In general, however, the class called "outsiders" have contributed very little to *Punch*. Our "Artemus Ward" was one of the very few American authors allowed to write in *Punch*, but the British public thought rather slightly of his effusions there.

The first illustrator of *Punch* was Archibald Henning, who commenced the series called "Punch's Pencilings." He was assisted, in due course, by Messrs. Hine, Nicholson, E. Landells, Kenny Meadows, John Leech, and Richard Doyle. The last of these joined the *Punch* staff very early, and his social sketches were full of truth, life, and fun, without losing that natural and expressive delicacy which indicates the poetic temperament. His "Manners and Customs of ye Englishe" are positively inimitable. Ridiculing the amusing attempts of Prince Albert at amateur farming, and his absurd invention of an army pot, apparently fashioned on the model of a flower pot, he so seriously offended Queen Victoria that she earnestly pressed her husband to countermand an order which he had given Mr. Doyle for two fresco-paintings in the pavilion in the garden of Buckingham Palace. The prince had the good sense to see that this was not exactly the way to check a satirical pencil, and did not take any steps to deprive himself of Mr. Doyle's pictures. In 1860, when the late Dr. Wiseman, created cardinal by Pope Pius IX., was sent to England as Archbishop of Westminster, it pleased *Punch* to play the intolerant and champion Lord John Russell's "No Popery" followers, by ridiculing, for some months, the religion, purpose, character, and person of the pope and the cardinal. This was very coarsely done, and Mr. Doyle, a Catholic, naturally objected to it, but without effect. Preserving his self-respect and sacri-

ficing a large income, he seceded from *Punch*, and Mr. John Tenniel, a clever historical painter, was then called in to assist Mr. John Leech. For some years, the cartoon (the principal full page illustration), has been almost exclusively drawn by Mr. Tenniel. As a book-illustrator of the highest class, Mr. Doyle has increased his reputation since he left *Punch* (he was the artist of Thackeray's "Newcomes"), and his "Continental Tour of Messrs. Brown and Robinson is so good that the proprietors and readers of *Punch* must feel, whenever they turn over its leaves, that Mr. Doyle was a great loss.

John Leech, who died in October, 1864, aged forty-seven, was only twenty-four years old, when, on August 7, 1841, a sheet of his designs, entitled "Foreign Affairs," signed *John Leech*, and with his artist monograph of a leech in a bottle, afterwards so well known, appeared in the fourth of "Punch's Pencillings." From that day to his last, John Leech was a leading draughtsman in *Punch*. He was the best caricaturist in England, drawing the faces of public characters almost as accurately as H. B. himself, and with infinitely more spirit. It seems to us, looking over the fifty-two volumes of *Punch*, which contain so many of his sketches, that he never missed taking and making a likeness, and the result was that the originals of his caricatures were always recognized from *Punch* the moment they were seen. There was no preserving an *incognito*, once that a public character was pencilled in *Punch*. His social sketches (many of them published collectively, as "Pictures of Life and Characters from the Portfolio of Mr. Punch") show how he had elevated burlesque and caricature into the department of art. He illustrated a large number of serial publications, including Beckett's Comic Histories of Rome and England. Perhaps his most popular sketches are those which present scenes in the sporting life of Mr. Briggs, a stout London merchant (said to have been drawn from life), who affected riding, hunting, racing, fishing, deer-stalking, shooting, &c., and invariably "came to grief." An excellent rider himself, he knew every point of a horse, and not even Herring could draw that animal more accurately. The *Times* applied to him, without exaggeration, Dr. Johnson's remark on Garrick, that "his death eclipsed the gaiety of nations." Thackeray, whom he did not long survive, wrote a highly eulogistic article upon him in the *Quarterly Review*, and Sir Edwin Landseer said, "There is not one of his designs which does

not deserve framing." In July, 1862, was exhibited in the Egyptian Hall, London, a series of Mr. Leech's sketches in oil, from subjects in *Punch*. There were sixty-nine of these, and the exhibition greatly increased the artist's popularity. Somebody had contrived by a skilful mechanical process, to expand the *Punch* sketches on canvas, and, painted over in oil by Mr. Leech himself, had the effect of actual pictures. Thus each became an original work of art. Mr. Leech's position on *Punch* was supplied by several artists, of whom Mr. George du Maurier has most nearly approached his style.

There is no doubt that, during its whole reign, *Punch* has exercised a great social and political influence. For the most part, it has been rather ultra-liberal in its views, generally supporting the Whigs, and always boldly demonstrative against misrule in foreign countries. It threw much ridicule on O'Connell and other Irish leaders, and rendered party justice to Peel while in office, though it warmly praised him after he had lost place but gained power by abolishing the taxes on bread. It sided with the Southern Confederacy during the recent American struggle, and, at various times, its circulation has been prohibited for over-bold speaking against "the authorities" in most of the European kingdoms. *Punch* has had only a single prosecution against it for libel, and that a small case, in which a second-hand clothes man got a verdict; in this respect, having better fortune than the French journal *La Caricature*, which Champfleury's "Histoire de la Caricature Moderne" informs us, had fifty-four prosecutions against it in one year. *Punch* has had few quarrels. One was with Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who founded the British and Foreign Institute (the hunchback substitutes Destitute for the last word in that title), and another with Mr. George Jones, an American actor, who re-appeared in New York, some years ago, *décoré* with the title of Count Joannes. For a long time, Mr. Alfred Bunn, a well-known theatrical manager, who wrote the librettos for many of Balfe's operas (his songs "married to immortal music" were little better than mere nonsense-verses), was very much ridiculed in *Punch*, which had a laugh at "the Poet Bunn" week after week. At last, Mr. Bunn retaliated, bringing out a pictorial sheet, almost a fac-simile of *Punch* in appearance, and filled with all manner of attacks, in every variety of prose and verse, upon Lemon, A Beckett, and Jerrold, as his principal enemies, whom he described as

Thick-head, Sleek-head, and Wrong-head. He gave the personal history of each, describing Lemon in his original trade of selling gin and half-and-half in the public-house over Covent Garden; reprinting the schedule of his various occupations, residences, and debts, which Mr. à Beckett had filed when getting "whitewashed" in the Court of Insolvent Debtors; and dealing with Jerrold's personal antecedents in an equally free manner. That time, at least, Bunn had the laugh on his side, and *Punch* never again named him. Mr. Boucicault, the dramatist, described *Punch* as properly characterized by the four writers who originated it: thus Gilbert à Beckett represented the spirit; Henry Mayhew the sugar; Douglas Jerrold the acid, and Mark Lemon the spoon!

In 1861, when *Punch* had completed its twentieth year and fortieth volume, its proprietor issued a reprint of the whole, at a somewhat reduced price, prefixing to each volume four pages of political and personal explanations, which were intended to facilitate the understanding, by readers of the present generation, of the subjects which had amused their parents. Of this new edition a large impression was sold.

The rivals of *Punch* have been numerous. *The Squib*, began in 1842, lived eight months; *Puck*; the *Puppet-Show* (in 1848); *The Month*, which lasted a year; *Chat*, in 1850-51; *Diogenes*, one of the best of the imitators, edited by Robert Kemp Philip, and chiefly illustrated by Mr. Watts Phillips, now a dramatist, then a draughtsman and engraver on wood; a second *Punchinello*, which lasted half a year; *Town Talk*; and *London*, a comic weekly, edited by G. A. Sala, seventeen years ago, but a failure. *Mephistophiles* and *The British Lion* appeared in 1859, but, though both were undoubtedly clever, success was not their destiny. In 1863, *Fun* appeared, and is now decidedly established, after much opposition and many changes. Mr. Thomas Hood, only son of him "who sang the Song of the Shirt," has edited the second series since its commencement, with considerable liveliness. He affects the familiar signature of "Tom Hood," which belonged solely to his father. His principal literary assistants have been "Arthur Sketchley," Mr. Burnaud, H. J. Byron, the dramatist. The artists who, more than the authors, made the reputation of *Fun*, were William Brunton; Paul Gray, a young Irishman who was rapidly approaching the excellence of Mr. Leech; W. McConnell, and Charles Bennett. Of these, the three last

have died—Mr. Bennett only a short time ago, on the staff of *Punch*.

In 1847, after Albert Smith had ceased to write for *Punch*, he established a monthly magazine, edited by himself and Angus B. Reach, liberally and ably illustrated by "Phiz," Henry Meadows, Hine, Nicholson, Prough, A. Mayhew, Smythe, "Cham," and others. It was *The Man in the Moon*, the first number of which appeared in January, 1847. The two volumes for 1848, which closed the publication, were wholly edited by Mr. Reach. In many respects, this was one of the best of the English illustrated comic periodicals.

In 1867 appeared *Judy*, a *Halfpenny Punch*, and *Banter*, all imitations. Of these *Judy* alone survives, and seems prosperous. Its illustrations, particularly its political cartoons, are superior to those now given in *Punch*. There also is *The Tomahawk*, remarkably well written, which gives a single engraving, printed in tints with much effect, and drawn with great spirit; the artist's signature is "Matt Morgan," which may be a pseudonyme. More recent still, also with a single engraving, is *Echoes of the Clubs*, which has no very decided character, political or satirical, but is illustrated with striking ability.

There has never been, we believe, any attempt in Scotland or Ireland to produce any publication at all resembling *Punch*. In Liverpool there have been a *Tomahawk*, a *Pan*, a *Lion*, and a *Porcupine*, all more or less critical on music and the drama. The *Porcupine*, we understand, survives and flourishes. In Melbourne, Australia, a colonial *Punch*, well written, smartly illustrated, and largely circulated, has been popular and prosperous for some years.

Illustrated comic literature has not been very successful in the United States. Various attempts have been made—*Vanity Fair* being the ablest as well as the most persistent. To a future occasion we postpone some account of these attempts, their authors, and the probable causes of their successive failures—causes, we may hint here, which arose rather from the writers than the artists of these publications.

ART. VII.—1. *The History of Ancient Astronomy.* By M. DE LAMBRE. 2 vols., 4to. 1817.

2. *Origin and Progress of Astronomy.* By JOHN NARRION, F. R. A. S. 1 vol., 8vo. London, 1850.

3. *Megale Syntaxis ; or, The Almagest.* By PTOLEMY.

THE origin of the science of astronomy is involved in impenetrable obscurity. We only know that it had an origin, but the time and place of its beginning are unknown. Here, then, the imagination can have loose reins. The human mind has, heretofore, in trying to give a probable account of the origin of the science of the stars, imagined man to be ushered into the world a grown-up, intelligent being, astonished at the beauty of the scene presented by the moon as it moves through the heavens from day to day, changing from the slender crescent to the full round orb, and then as gradually returning again to its original form ; or at the scene which the stars and planets present as they move majestically onward in their accustomed rounds.

But such could not have been the course of nature. Man began the world as the child does, naturally ignorant and inexperienced, and so familiar with the scenes of nature before the development of reason, that neither sun, moon, nor stars excited his imagination. His attention was probably never called to the heavenly bodies till necessity drove him to observe them. We shall, then, probably, not be far from the truth if we suppose that man's physical wants, in the first place, impelled him to become an astronomer.

As a suitable introduction to the discoveries and improvements of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, we shall give a brief sketch of the history of astronomy before the time of the former. The wants of agriculture have required in all ages a knowledge of the motions of the sun, so that the seasons can be distinguished and their returns known. The earliest observations made for such purpose were those of the risings and the settings of the stars, especially those lying along the sun's path. The *science* of astronomy did not begin, however, till a series of observations had been recorded and compared with one another, and some attempt made to explain the motions and the laws of the heavenly bodies. We know but little of the antiquity of this ancient astronomy ; we may judge of its early existence, however, by the astronomical periods which it has

transmitted to us, and by some correct notions which the Chaldeans and Egyptians entertained of the system of the world. The practical astronomy of these early ages seems to have been confined to the observations of the risings and the settings of the principal stars, their occultations by the moon and planets, and to the eclipses of the sun and moon. The most ancient observations of a definite character which have been transmitted to us, are those of three eclipses of the moon made in the years 719 and 720 B. C. These are cited by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*, and employed by him in determining the elements of the lunar motions.

Laplace says that astronomy is not less ancient in Egypt than in Chaldea. Long before the Christian era the Egyptians were acquainted with the excess of the year of one-fourth of a day above three hundred and sixty-five days; and a knowledge of this fact enabled them to construct the sothic period of 1460 years. It is probable, also, that they had methods of calculating eclipses.

Grecian astronomy also dates back several centuries before the Christian era. Thales, born in Miletus about 640 B. C., went to Egypt for instruction; and on his return he founded the celebrated Ionian school, in which he taught the sphericity of the earth, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the true cause of the eclipses of the sun and moon; and he even predicted them. Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras were the successors of Thales; the first of whom invented the gnomon and geographical charts. Anaxagoras was persecuted by the Athenians for teaching that nature is governed by immutable laws.

From the Ionian school came Pythagoras, born at Samos, 590 B. C. He was at first a disciple of Thales; but this philosopher advised him to travel in Egypt, where he obtained a knowledge of the doctrines of the priests. He finally left his own country and retired to Italy, where he established his school. Here Pythagoras taught the doctrines of the Ionian school on a more extended scale. What particularly distinguishes the Pythagorean system of astronomy is the doctrine of the two motions of the earth, the annual and diurnal. The discoveries of this great man in the pure science of geometry are nearly equal to those in astronomy. The invention of the multiplication table and the discovery of the forty-seventh proposition of Euclid are due to Pythagoras.

After the death of Alexander, science seemed to decline in Greece, owing, perhaps, to the unsettled state of affairs



there. The establishment of the Alexandrine school by the second Ptolemy, however, gave a new impetus to the progress of astronomical science. The men of science who had been attracted thither were established in a vast edifice, which contained both an observatory and the celebrated Alexandrine library. Here they were supplied with whatever books and instruments were necessary to carry on their scientific labours. We see here, for the first time, a connected series of observations. Singular instruments were here employed, and trigonometrical methods were used in calculations. Here the celebrated Euclid, author of the *Elements of Geometry*, studied and taught.

Arystillus and Thimocares were the first observers of this rising school; they flourished about the year 300 B. C. Their observations of the principal stars of the zodiac enabled Hipparchus to discover the precession of the equinoxes; and Ptolemy founded his theory of the planets on their observations of those bodies. Here flourished the great astronomer Aristarchus, of Samos. "The most delicate elements of astronomy were the subjects of his investigations." He observed the summer solstice 281 B. C.; he measured the apparent magnitude of the sun, and the relative distances of the sun and moon, by a method which reflects great honour on the genius of that astronomer. His method was to observe the angular distance between the sun and moon, when the disk of the latter was just half enlightened, which makes known the three angles of a right-angled triangle, and this enabled him to find the ratio of the sun's distance to the moon's. In this way he found the distance of the sun about nineteen times as great as that of the moon. He also received the Pythagorean notion of the motion of the earth.

The successor of Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, is celebrated for his determination of the obliquity of the ecliptic, and for his measurement of the magnitude of the earth. He made the circumference of the earth equal to 250,000 stadia, but the length of this stadium is uncertain, so that we are unable to judge of the accuracy of the determination. Such then was the science of astronomy when Hipparchus began his researches.

Hipparchus was born at Nicæa, in Bithynia, about 200 B. C., but it is related by both Theon and Ptolemy that he made many celestial observations at Rhodes, and it is probable that the most of his works were composed at that place. It is also said that he made observations at Alexandria; but this is a point that cannot easily be

settled. "This great man," says Grant, "was at once a mathematician, an observer, and a theorist; and in all these capacities he exhibited powers of genius of the highest order: only two or three individuals can rank with him in the history of physical science."\* "Not content with what had already been done, he determined to recommence every thing, and not to admit any results but those founded on a new examination of former observations, or on new observations, more exact than those of his predecessors."†

Hipparchus was probably the inventor and certainly the first to employ trigonometry in astronomical researches, by which the facility of fixing with precision the places of the celestial bodies, and of exhibiting the variations in their movements, was, in an important degree, augmented. He first distinguished himself by writing a commentary on the astronomical poem of Aratus. In this work he solved a problem of considerable intricacy, and of great practical utility in astronomical science in his day. He supposed a given star to be situated in the horizon, its right ascension and declination, and also the latitude of the place of observation to be known; and from these data he deduces the value of the diurnal arc described by the star, the longitude, right ascension of the point of the ecliptic which is in the horizon, the right ascension of the mid-heaven, and the culminating point of the ecliptic at the time when the star is in the horizon. A work which Hipparchus wrote on the simultaneous risings and settings of the stars, and one in twelve books on the calculation of a table of *chord lines* inscribed in a circle, are lost. The latter was probably to be used in computations in plane and spherical trigonometry similarly to that of a table of *sines* at the present day.

Much of the labour in a fixed observatory of the present day, is to observe the positions of the fixed stars, for they are the basis upon which the science of astronomy rests. They are a sort of landmarks to which reference is continually being made in determining the positions of a moving celestial body. Hipparchus conferred a great benefit on the science of the stars by forming a catalogue of 1080 of those which were called fixed. We are uncertain whether the positions of the stars were given by their right ascensions and declinations, or latitudes and longitudes. It is said that he was induced to form his

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\* His. Phys. Ast., p. ii. † Laplace, Syst. of the World, vol. ii., p. 267.

catalogue by the appearance of a temporary star which was visible in the day-time, so that posterity might tell whether new stars had made their appearance, or old ones passed away.

The ancient method of determining the situation of a star or planet, with respect to the equinox, was to obtain the distance of it in right ascension, or longitude, from the sun by the intervention of the moon. Because the sun and star could not be seen at the same time, the distance of the latter from the moon was measured, and from the known synodical motion of the moon her distance from the sun was found, and thence that of the star; and as the distance of the sun from the equinoctial points was known, the longitude of the star was thus ascertained.\* But the errors in the solar and lunar tables in those times necessarily precluded all idea of accuracy in such determinations. Many centuries elapsed before the lunar movements were sufficiently well known to give the moon's place in the heavens with accuracy.

Another important discovery made by Hipparchus, is that of the precession of the equinoxes. Aristyllus and Thimocares, in observing the longitude of the star *Spica Virginis*, found it equal to  $172^\circ$ , and Hipparchus, one hundred and seventy years afterwards, found it equal to  $174^\circ$ , showing a change of  $2^\circ$  in the interval, or about  $42''$  annually. As there was no change in the latitude of the star, the change in the longitude could easily be accounted for by supposing a retrograde movement of the equinoctial points. Modern astronomers, by comparing the position of *Eta Canis Major*, as given by Hipparchus, with its position in our day, find the annual precession equal to about  $50' 8''$  greater than that astronomer's determination.

The length of the solar day, or the interval of two successive arrivals of the sun to the meridian of any place, was found by Hipparchus, from his observations of the daily motion of the sun, to be variable in different seasons; and in order to reduce this to its mean value, he is said to have applied a correction similar to our equation of time. Another source of inconvenience then existing was the practice of beginning the day at sunrise. To remedy this Hipparchus changed the beginning of the day from sunrise to midnight. The modern astronomer makes the astronomical day begin at noon,

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\* Narrion's Origin and Prog. of Ast., p. 222.

and considers it as consisting of twenty-four hours, and not of twice twelve. The method of Hipparchus is still followed in reckoning time for civil purposes. "It is worthy of observation, that in or before the time of Hipparchus, the hour of the night at which any phenomenon occurred, was determined, as we are informed by Ptolemy, by observing what star was on the meridian at the time; for the right ascension of the sun being known, the difference between this and the right ascension of the star is the time required."\*

One of the principal objects of the astronomer is to determine the laws by which the movements of the sun, moon, and planets are regulated. As soon as Hipparchus had determined the positions of the principal fixed stars, he applied himself to the difficult task of investigating the theory of the motions of the sun and moon. Here he displayed the resources of his great genius, and we find him comparable in that respect to the greatest astronomers of modern times. The length of the tropical year is the first thing in the solar theory that must be determined with exactness; not only for the regulation of the calendar, but because the elements of the apparent orbit of the sun are dependent upon it. Astronomers before the time of Hipparchus had found this element by comparing the observations of the Chaldeans and Egyptians with those in their own day; but Hipparchus was not satisfied with those ancient observations, because they were not sufficiently exact, and he sought for some of a later date that would answer his purpose better. Sometimes the great length of time between two observations will more than compensate for the want of accuracy of one of them, but we cannot allow too great a margin of this kind. Aristarchus observed the time when the sun was at the summer solstice in the year 281 B. C., and 145 years afterwards Hipparchus made a similar observation of the same solstice and he found it to happen twelve hours, or half a day, later than it ought if the year had consisted exactly of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, a circumstance which shows that this latter period is in excess a little of the true length of the year, for exactly 145 years had elapsed; but by assuming the year to consist of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, the time lacked half a day of making 145 years. If we divide 0.5 of a day by 145 we find 0.00345, which, being taken from  $365.25$ , we have

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\* Narrion, p. 226.

365·24655 days for the true length of the solar year. This is in excess of the truth by 6 minutes and 13 seconds only; since, according to Laplace, the tropical year was then 4·2 seconds shorter than in the present age. This investigation of Hipparchus led him to suggest an improvement in the calendar by leaving out one of the intercalated days (of every fourth year) at the end of every three hundred years.

Ptolemy informs us that Hipparchus found, from observation, that the interval of time from the vernal equinox to the summer solstice was equal to  $94\frac{1}{2}$  days, and from the latter to the autumnal equinox there were  $92\frac{1}{2}$  days; from which it follows that the summer half of the year consisted of 187 days, and the winter half of 178 days. "To explain these differences, Hipparchus supposed the sun to move uniformly in a circular orbit; but, instead of placing the earth in the centre of it, he supposed it removed the twenty-fourth part of the radius, and fixed the apogee in the sixth degree of Gemini. From these data he formed the first solar tables to be found in the history of astronomy."\*

After establishing the theory of the motions of the sun, Hipparchus applied himself to an investigation of the lunar theory. The theory of the moon's motions is by far more difficult than that of the sun; indeed, more labour has been expended on the lunar theory alone than on that of all the other celestial bodies together. Hipparchus availed himself of the registers of the ancient eclipses, and probably of many direct observations of the phases of the moon, as these latter would afford many useful approximations to the lunar elements. By comparing the ancient observations with those of his own time, he found the mean synodical revolution of the moon equal to 29·5297 days, and the mean sidereal revolution equal to 27·3214 days. He also found that the line of apsides completed a revolution in 3229·3 days, and the line of nodes in 6806·6 days. These numbers are close approximations to the truth; especially shall we consider them so when we remember the difficulties which Hipparchus had to encounter in determining them. By comparing these results with those deduced from the most accurate observations of modern times, it is proved that the moon's mean motion has been accelerated since the days of Hipparchus, and the theory of gravitation con-

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\* "System of the World," vol. ii., p. 268. |

firms the result, giving numbers that agree almost precisely with those found from observation.

To find the variation of the apparent diameter of the moon, he again had recourse to lunar eclipses. In this way it was found that the moon's apparent diameter in perigee exceeded that in apogee by  $2' 10''$ , the true value being about double this. As soon as it was discovered that the magnitude of the earth bore a definite relation to the distance of the sun and moon, it must have been perceived that the apparent places of these bodies would be affected by the position which the observer occupies on the surface of the first body. This change of apparent place was denominated *parallax*, and Ptolemy informs us that Hipparchus not only understood the nature of the element, but he was in possession of rules for computing its amount. He called the horizontal parallax of the moon  $57'$ , and that of the sun  $3'$ , according to the determination of the sun's distance by Aristarchus.

After having revised and improved the lunar theory, Hipparchus turned his attention to the planets. In most of the ancient systems of astronomy, the earth was considered as a quiescent body in the centre of the universe with the celestial bodies revolving around it. The first and nearest was the moon, then Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; after which came the sphere of the fixed stars. Hipparchus found the time occupied by a synodical revolution of each of the planets, or the interval between two successive conjunctions with the sun, as follows: Mercury, 115·875 days; Venus, 583·95 days; Mars, 779·68 days; Jupiter, 398·89 days; Saturn, 378·09 days. The sidereal revolutions were as follows: Mercury, Venus, and the sun, each a year; Mars, 1·88 years; Jupiter, 11·86 years; Saturn, 29·03 years. These numbers are approximately correct, except the sidereal periods of Mercury and Venus.

In concluding this sketch of the labours of Hipparchus, we may add, that besides his invention or improvement of trigonometry and the calculation of tables to facilitate astronomical calculations, the improvement of the theories of the sun, moon, and planets, and the correction of the tables of their movements, he must have applied himself for many years to the observations of the heavenly bodies, so as to leave behind him numerous correct data for the improvement of those theories to which he had devoted the powers of his gifted mind. He died about the year 125 B. C.

Between the times of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, a space of about three hundred years, there flourished no astronomers of any particular note; or such as added any thing of importance to what was already known. Ptolemy was born at Ptolemais in Egypt, about the year 100 of our era. He laboured to extend and perfect what Hipparchus had begun. The results of all his labours are embodied in his great work, the *Almagest*, which is a complete treatise on the science of astronomy. In the first book of this work, Ptolemy gives the result of his researches on the obliquity of the ecliptic. His method was to observe the zenith distances of the sun on the days of the summer and the winter solstices, which gave him the double obliquity equal to about  $47^{\circ} 42' 30''$ , half of which is  $23^{\circ} 51' 15''$ . His method of ascertaining the length of the tropical year, was the same as that practised by Hipparchus, and he found a result coinciding with that of the last-named astronomer. This exact coincidence has given rise to a suspicion, since several different comparisons give the same result, that his observations are not real. That he was not a very accurate observer seems probable from the fact that he made the latitude of Alexandria, the scene of his labours, a quarter of a degree too small.\* Ptolemy does not seem to have improved the solar theory of Hipparchus.

In the fourth book of the *Almagest*, Ptolemy investigates the theory of the moon's motions. Hipparchus had determined the eccentricity of the moon's orbit, or the radius of the epicycle in his theory, the maximum equations of her centre, and the place of her apogees. The equations of the moon's centre, or the principal inequality, as it was also called, was found by a comparison of the mean place of that body with her true place at the time of an eclipse; and Hipparchus seems to have concluded that the same correction applied in any situation with respect to the sun; but we are indebted to Ptolemy for the discovery of the fact that it is only applicable when she is in syzygy. This inequality is known as the *evectio*. He constructed an instrument, by means of which the positions of the moon could be observed in other parts of her orbit than in syzygy, and he "found that they sometimes agreed, but were more frequently at variance with the calculated places; the greatest amount of error always taking place at quadrature and vanishing altogether

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\* Narrion, pp. 256-7.

at syzygy. What must, however, have been a source of great perplexity to Ptolemy, when he attempted to investigate the law of this new irregularity, was to find that it did not return in any quadrature—in some quadratures it totally disappeared, and in others amounted to  $2^{\circ} 39'$ , which was its maximum value.”\* These changes are owing to the fact, that the evection is proportional to the sum of twice the mean angular distance of the sun from the moon, diminished by the mean angular distance of the moon from the perigee.

To represent this new inequality, Ptolemy caused the moon, in his theory, to move on the circumference of an epicycle whose centre was moved on the circumference of an eccentric circle whose centre was carried in a retrograde order on the circumference of another circle whose centre was the centre of the earth. One of the erroneous notions of the ancients, was that, because circular motion is the most simple and natural, it was necessarily that of the heavenly bodies. After being retarded for some time in his progress by the same notion, Kepler finally overthrew it, and established the elliptic theory. Although Ptolemy's theory might be made to represent approximately the principal inequalities of the moon's motion, yet it never could explain the variation in distance; and could he have measured with his instruments the change in the apparent diameter of the moon as it revolves around the earth, it would have shown him that his theory was entirely at variance with nature, since the diameter varies inversely as the distance.

In the planetary theory there was no question in reference to the positions of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn with respect to the earth and sun, but Mercury and Venus, owing to the peculiarity of their apparent motions, gave the ancients no little difficulty. There were three opinions respecting them. The hypothesis of the first class placed them between the sun and the earth, Mercury being nearest to the latter; the second placed them beyond the sun; and lastly, the Egyptians, more sagacious than the others, made them move round the sun according to nature. Ptolemy adopted the first hypothesis. Had he followed the Egyptians, the simplicity which it would have introduced into his theory might have led him to the discovery of the true system of the world. Every new discovery of irregularities in the motion of the

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\* Godfray's Lunar Theory, p. 105.



celestial bodies added new difficulties to the theory ; and instead of being confirmed by the progress of the science, it grew more and more complicated ; and this alone should have convinced the ancients that their system was not that of nature. "But in considering it," says Laplace, "as a method of adapting the celestial motions to calculation, this first attempt of the human understanding toward an object so very complicated, does great honour to the sagacity of its author."

In preparing his catalogue of stars, Ptolemy has been accused of copying that of Hipparchus, and allowing for the motion of the equinoxes in the interval. In determining the motion of the equinoctial points, he arrived at a result agreeing with that of Hipparchus. But Laplace\* shows that the erroneous determination was owing to the error then existing in the observed length of the tropical year. "The astronomical edifice raised by Ptolemy, subsisted nearly fourteen centuries, and now that it is entirely destroyed, his *Almagest*, considered as a depository of ancient observations, is one of the most precious monuments of antiquity." Ptolemy rendered great service to geography by collecting all the known longitudes and latitudes of different places, and by laying the foundation of projections for the construction of geographical charts. He composed a treatise on optics, which has been preserved. In this work he explains the influence of astronomical refractions. He also wrote treatises on chronology, music, gnomonics, and mechanics. His *Megale Syntaxis* was translated by the Arabs into their language, and called by them the *Almagest*. In the thirteenth century it was translated from Arabic into Latin, under the auspices of the emperor Frederick the Second. This step was attended with the most beneficial consequences to the study of astronomy, for the work could now be read by most persons of learning.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Articles of Impeachment against the President of the United States for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.*

2. *Speeches of Managers and of Counsel for Defence and other documents.* May, 1868.

No party is so strong that it can afford to be rash in important actions. Five hundred persons more than one

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\* *System of the World*, vol. ii., pp. 278-9.

cannot set reason at defiance with impunity. Above all others those who would accomplish a revolution for their own benefit without bloodshed, must be calm and thoughtful. It behooves them to weigh all the circumstances, and by no means to lose sight of the tendency which opinion and feeling, like other things, have to change; they should remember that although weak minds are in general the most fickle, strong minds are the most likely to be influenced by the promptings of justice and truth. The former may, indeed, entertain the same notions for years; but the latter reject theirs as soon as they discover that they are wrong; they are not afraid to be accused of inconsistency, because they have the sense to understand that it reflects honour rather than discredit on them, as men and citizens, to be wiser to-day than they were yesterday.

The best men may be set aside in a day, or in an hour, by the sword, under pretence of their being the worst; but it is rarely that any who are not real criminals are treated as such, when the tribunal before which they are arraigned has had time for reflection; never we think when the tribunal is enlightened and impartial. Thus it is that the impeachers have injured themselves much more than the President whom they have impeached.

All who are in a passion fancy themselves stronger than they really are; they also fancy that the object of their wrath is worse than he is. For these reasons men of sense wait until their passion cools; then, if after due deliberation the things which first annoyed them have still the same aspect, it is but right they should pursue the course which their conscience and judgment prompt.

The impeachers have done the reverse, and now that they have had sufficient time for reflection, we feel convinced that they are by no means surprised themselves at the result. Certainly no one is really surprised who was not actuated by selfish motives, or by excessive partisan feeling, or who did not entertain a low opinion of the Senate. If the truth were known, the surprise of the most unprincipled of the impeachers was not that the President should be acquitted, but that so little could be proved against any man occupying so prominent a position; they might well say that not one of them would have been found so innocent of "high crimes and misdemeanors," had he been placed in the same position as Andrew Johnson.

It is not to be expected that men who have acted so  
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rash and unwise a part would admit this, but it would certainly be more to their credit to do so than to attribute unworthy motives to the men of their party who had the manliness and honesty to prefer justice to partisan favour. In our opinion every American citizen, without distinction of party, should regard the acquittal of the President as a cause of congratulation, if for no other reason than that it has vindicated the honour of the Senate of the United States. We are well aware that there are many thousands who do not view it in this light, but the day will come when they will change their mind. Large numbers have changed already, brief as the time is since the trial was concluded. We indulge in no exaggeration when we say that nearly half of those among the public at large who were in favour of the removal of the President when he was first impeached, became his warmest friends during the progress of the trial; not because they liked his politics or himself better than they did previously, but because they were unwilling to see the President of the United States persecuted and insulted, for what was at worst but an error in judgment. All who had a thought beyond their daily task, asked themselves what would they say, or how would they feel, if any foreign nation had abused our Chief Magistrate as the impeachers did, ostensibly for the good of the country, but really for the purpose of gratifying their own ambition.

It is better, however, that the President should be brought even to a mock trial than that recourse should be had to bloodshed; but it is by no means certain that the impeachers are entitled to the credit of this. Those who make a great outcry, under any pretence whatever, are seldom endowed with courage; they are very much like women in this as in other respects. Mr. Butler, whom the managers fitly put forward as their representative, would much rather use his tongue, coarse and pointless, though rasping, as it is, than his sword, except he could hit with the latter from some dark, safe place.

But had he been even brave, and had all his accomplices been brave also—which, we admit, is rather an extravagant supposition—even then they would hardly have ventured on a bloody revolution. Not, indeed, that they would have much scruple to strike down any man or men who presented an obstacle to their ambitious projects and love of pelf; and, if we are to judge some of them from their conduct in the past, women would fare

no better, but rather worse, at their hands. Fortunately, our people are neither bloodthirsty nor fond of revolutions. They have demonstrated to the world that none are braver when their country needs their bravery, but their innate good sense and intelligence give no encouragement to conspirators. Catiline himself, could he have lived in our time, would not have dared to urge the Northern States to endanger the life of the Republic by bloodshed and plunder. In the South, indeed, he might have succeeded in an evil hour. This the late rebellion has shown, but, alas, how sad, how irreparable are the results even of that gigantic effort! It is an idle boast, therefore, for the impeachers to say that they had recourse to moral and legal means for the removal of the President. Had they attempted to use violence, they would have brought still more contempt on themselves than they have, if that were possible, and they would have endangered their precious lives at the same time.

We have no disposition to increase the scorn which the impeachers have brought on themselves by what they pretend to regard as "moral and legal means," but which, as the world knows, were neither moral nor legal. Even Butler has had punishment enough. Like Thersites, his prototype, he has excited ridicule by his gravest efforts. Far be it from us to find fault with any one for the defects or infirmities of nature. But we cannot help being struck with the resemblance between the chief reviler of the President and the person on whom Ulysses inflicted such ignominious punishment for abusing his betters. First the poet describes him as squinting\* and lame of one foot.† Then he is addressed by Ulysses with the utmost scorn: "If I shall find thee any longer acting foolishly," says the hero, "as indeed no where no longer, then, be the head on the shoulders of Ulysses: not any longer may I be called the father of Telemachus, if, having taken thee, I do not strip thee of thy garments, both upper coat and tunic, and those which cover thy shame."‡ In order to give due emphasis to these words, Ulysses struck the poor wight on the back, so that the boaster and reviler writhed and began to cry like a woman. Pope, in commenting on this, says:—"What is further observable is, that Thersites is never heard of after this, his first appearance; such a scandalous character is to be taken no more notice of

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\* φαλῶδες. † χῶλος δ' ἑτερου ποδα. ‡ *Iliad*, II., v. 259 *et seq.*

than just to show that it is despised." But there is another point of similarity. The Greeks had become very much dissatisfied with their leaders; they were almost in a mutinous condition when they were addressed on the subject by Thersites, who, be it observed, was well "versed in many and indecent terms;" in other words, he was a pretty fair specimen of a "stump orator," without principle, decency, or courage. Had he remained quiet, the probability was that the Greeks would withdraw and leave Agamemnon in the lurch, a ruined and degraded chieftain. But Thersites turns the scale at once in his favour; the gross and indecent abuse he received from so worthless a character awakened the sympathy of the whole army, and all were delighted at the chastisement which the brawler received. Even Ulysses had never done any thing more popular than this. "He has done innumerable good things," said the Greeks, "but now, truly, he has done this, by far the best, by silencing this reproachful reviler from his harangues."\*

Now, if Homer had only introduced some silver spoons, or other similar utensils, into his description, the parallel would have been almost perfect. At all events, the resemblance is sufficiently close. Thersites saved the glory of the Greeks by causing them to do the reverse of what he urged upon them: he made them be true to themselves and their country, instead of being false to both, as he advised them, with all the earnestness and scurrility of a smatterer in oratory. And certain it is that the conduct of Butler has had a similar effect on the people of the United States. He has saved the American Senate, as Thersites saved the Greek army. No one, therefore, should have any feeling against Mr. Butler. True, it is against his will he saved the Senate from disgrace, but when one has accomplished a good result, it is ungracious to scrutinize too closely the means which he used.

But to extend the parallel a little farther, if the Greeks had reason to be grateful to the wise Ulysses for restraining the "reproachful reviler" and exhibiting him in his true character to his countrymen, the American people have equal reason to be grateful to Chief-Justice Chase. The latter did not, indeed, describe Butler from head to toe, as Ulysses described his prototype, nor did he inflict any blows on his posterior parts, but he chastised him

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\* *Iliad*, II., v. 275.

quite as severely as if he had done both. Some of those brief remarks which he occasionally addressed to the "honourable manager" were abundantly descriptive; it was evident that they hurt, too, sometimes, although Butler is by no means sensitive as long as he is in danger of no harder weapons than irony or rebuke. But there is an eloquence in silence, and in the expression of the countenance, and we have never seen it used with more powerful effect than by the Chief-Justice at the impeachment trial. In a word, our impression was, after having spent many weary hours listening to the managers, that no jurist of Europe or America could have conducted himself in a more dignified or impartial manner than Chief-Justice Chase did during this trial. All the managers were more or less offensive to him; Butler was particularly so. Neither the managers, nor their senatorial abettors ever addressed him by his proper title, but always as "Mr. President." He never made even a suggestion as to the law or propriety of any question evolved during the trial, for which he was not treated with rudeness in one form or another; yet never, for one moment, did he seem to lose his equanimity. We made the following remark in our last number, for we had never seen his Honour preside at any court: "If Chief-Justice Chase has the wisdom and moral courage to avail himself of it, he has now an opportunity of rendering himself quite as illustrious as Lord Abinger; he has an opportunity of causing himself to be quoted as an authority in favour of constitutional government and the rights of man, by the jurists of all future ages."\*

He has proved to the world that he possessed both the wisdom and the moral courage to administer justice impartially, and oppose wrong, and we hold that he has rendered himself illustrious accordingly. The majority of even those who voted the President guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanours" will live long enough to see, if they do not already, that, after all, it was fortunate for the country that so wise a statesman and so impartial a jurist occupied the supreme bench at so momentous a crisis; not that he could compel any senator to vote contrary to his inclination, but that the influence of a distinguished lawyer, combining with great forensic ability the wisdom of the statesman, could not fail to produce favourable results.

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\* No. XXXII., p. 380.

Nor does any intelligent person doubt that the straightforward, manly course pursued by the Chief-Justice has influenced the issue of the trial. Had a narrow-minded fanatic or partisan been in his place, it is certain that the President would have been convicted, and this would have produced much more serious results than even the impeachers had calculated upon. As it is, no harm has been done, but really much good. The most ambitious and violent partisans will learn a useful lesson from the acquittal of the President. None of that genus will be so ready in future to make frivolous charges, however anxious they may be to crush their opponents in order to serve their own interests; whereas, future presidents, upon the other hand, will be careful not to leave themselves in the power of unprincipled demagogues.

For these reasons, if we had five hundred votes tomorrow, and that Chief-Justice Chase were a candidate for the Presidency, we would unhesitatingly give all to him. We think that all who have the welfare of the country at heart should be actuated by the same feeling. Nor is it by way of rewarding the Chief-Justice we would pursue this course; we should wish to see him President for the country's sake, not for his—because we think that he is eminently qualified for the position, and that his administration would command the respect of all intelligent, impartial men at home and abroad.

We do not make this remark through any hostility to General Grant; for we entertain no such feeling. As long as there was a single battalion in the field against the Union, none were more in favour of prosecuting the war than we; none set a higher value on the splendid victories of General Grant; and we have always maintained that he deserved the warmest gratitude of the country for having saved the Republic in spite of the persistent efforts of one of the greatest generals of the age, and the bravest armies. If the rebel armies were not superior to the Union armies, it was because the latter could not be surpassed; and if Lee was not superior to Grant as a general, it was because the latter had no superior in the world, in our opinion, in the particular kind of warfare which it was necessary to adopt in the extensive woods and morasses of the South.

Such has been our estimate of General Grant since he gained his three first victories; nevertheless we have always thought that there are at least a hundred men in the United States who are much better qual-

ified for the Presidency than he. But, with the sole exception of Chief-Justice Chase, none of those yet prominently mentioned as likely to be his opponents, are among the number. We would certainly vote for him rather than for any of the rest, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats; but we should decidedly prefer the Chief-Justice to the General, for, although the sword is an excellent thing in time of war, political sagacity and statesmanship are much more useful in time of peace; and they are much more likely to maintain peace when once established. Even his enemies freely admitted that Wellington was a great general. No public man has ever been more idolized than the "Iron Duke" has been by the British people of all classes; it is certain that no general ever possessed in a higher degree the gratitude of a whole nation; yet there were many men to whom England preferred to commit the reins of government, although he was always willing enough, if not anxious, to be Premier. Even when he was nominally at the head of the ministry, Sir Robert Peel, who could not command a corporal's guard, and who scarcely knew the difference between a carbine and a howitzer, was the acting man. The duke was nearly as much out of place in the cabinet when any important business had to be transacted, as Sir Robert would have been in the British camp when "the guards" were attacked with characteristic impetuosity by Napoleon's cuirassiers.

But we fear that General Grant would be still more out of place in the cabinet; and it is not a military chieftain the country needs just now, but a statesman. No one pretends that General Grant is a statesman; at least we are not aware that any such claim has been made on his behalf, even by his most enthusiastic admirers; whereas none deny the statesmanlike abilities of Mr. Chase.

It is urged that, if we are at peace with the world now, we may be at war with one or more of the most powerful nations before the term of the next president shall have expired. This is not at all likely; and still less likely is it that we shall have any great rebellion to put down. But assuming the contrary, was Mr. Lincoln, under whose auspices the greatest and most formidable rebellion of modern times was put down, a military chieftain? Not one of all our presidents knew less about military science, or had less disposition to take the field; yet it is universally admitted by the very men who have



nominated General Grant that not one, save Washington alone, has deserved more of his country than Mr. Lincoln.

One of the good results of the Impeachment trial was to have brought Mr. Chase thus prominently before the public, by proving him superior to partisanship. But has any thing proved that General Grant is not a partisan? Nay, have not many things proved rather conclusively that he is? His course towards the President in relation to the War Department was certainly not straightforward; even according to his own account he acted the part of a partisan. Does any one believe that if he could have presided at the impeachment trial, he would have been as impartial as Mr. Chase?

As to the politics of one or the other, we are not, we repeat, in the least influenced by them. We like a Republican quite as much as a Democrat, and a Democrat as much as a Republican. If self-interest would induce us to favour one more than the other, the Republicans would certainly have the best claim upon us. Most assuredly we have more friends amongst them than amongst the Democrats. We have denounced the Radicals for their vindictive policy towards the South, and for their still more vindictive persecution of the President, although we have in general found them, also, much better friends than the Democrats. Even when we wanted a ticket of admission to the High Court of Impeachment, we called on no Democrat for it; but on a Republican and Radical; nor could any one have responded to us more politely than Senator Morgan, who very gracefully and kindly presented us a ticket which he had addressed to a personal friend, while, to our own knowledge, he had to refuse many Radicals for the same privilege.

Indeed, were we influenced by partisan feeling—did we prefer a Democrat as such to a Republican, we should think that, after all, Grant is at heart more of a Democrat than Chase. But we do not care whether he is or not; we are convinced that our Chief-Justice is a better statesman than the commander of our armies; we are satisfied that the former is better qualified in every respect to be President of the United States than the latter; and, accordingly, we prefer him. But we would not prefer Pendleton; still less would we prefer Seymour; we would give General Grant our vote in preference to either; because he has served his country, whereas we believe that neither of the gentlemen just mentioned has

served anybody but himself, and, perhaps, "the party." Who can pretend that it is so with Mr. Chase? We think that it may well be doubted, whether he has not served his country as Secretary of the Treasury and Chief-Justice quite as much as General Grant, although the good he has done may not be so obvious.

It is a remarkable fact that some of the very people who justly laud our Chief-Justice for his impartial and manly conduct during the impeachment trial, call on the President to remove all his cabinet officers. There is nothing the Chief-Justice is more highly praised for than for his effort to shield from conviction one whom he believed did not deserve to be convicted. Certainly, nothing can be more meritorious, nothing more honourable to human nature than to protect the victim of persecution; especially when that persecution is the result of obvious conspiracy. But, with the sole exception of Mr. Seward, whose testimony in regard to the difficulty between the President and General Grant was not at all straightforward, all the cabinet officers remained faithful to their superior. When the President was impeached, the almost universal opinion among all parties and classes was that he would be convicted; not, indeed, because he was guilty but because those who sought his downfall were all-powerful. None doubted at the time that, had the cabinet officers consulted their own interest, they would leave the President to his fate. Nor can we believe that they entertained a different opinion on the subject themselves; but, with the exception already noticed, all stood manfully by the President.

The Secretaries of the Treasury and of the Navy distinguished themselves particularly by their manly and honourable fidelity. They took, what all believed at the time to be, the part of the weak against the strong; the part of the apparently doomed victim against his all-powerful enemies. Neither threats nor promises could induce them to swerve in the slightest degree from the course pointed out to them by truth, justice, and honour. They were willing to give their testimony before the High Court and the world in favour of the President, because they believed him innocent. Precisely because their fidelity was known to the Managers, because it was well understood that they would speak out boldly and honestly, they were not allowed to testify. Now, the President is called upon to remove those who thus continued faithful to him to the last! Were he capable of such base ingratitude, might

it not well be said that, after all, he deserved to be impeached?

But would not the nation also show its ingratitude did it sanction, much less recommend, any such course? While every enlightened nation that is friendly to the United States bestows the highest praise on our Secretary of the Treasury, for the able and statesman-like manner in which he has managed our financial system, are we ourselves to reward him only with reproaches? It would become us much better, as an intelligent and patriotic people, to bear in mind that precisely because he is an honest as well as an able man, because he is a faithful and fearless public servant, he has been persistently abused by certain parties—by parties who would have been the loudest in his praise had he only been less scrupulous in his care of the public money.

It is not strange that those who clamour for the removal of the ablest and most upright Secretary of the Treasury we have ever had, or are likely to have during the present generation, should also call for the removal of the Secretary of the Navy, for no better reason than that his hair is gray. It is not strange even that they sneer at him for being old, as if age were a disgrace; whereas the most illustrious statesmen, of ancient and modern times, have never served their country better than when they were much older and much less vigorous than Secretary Welles. Surely, one who was able to serve during the war, and under whose auspices our navy elicited the admiration of all Europe, and gained a prestige which it never had before, cannot be too old now to serve a few years longer in time of peace. Were he even superannuated, it would become us badly to treat him in this manner; but not one of our public functionaries, of any age, works harder, or is at his post earlier or later, than the same well-tried, uncompromising, indefatigable Secretary of the Navy.

We do not believe that the President would be guilty of the baseness to which he is thus prompted. The real state of the case is, that neither Mr. McCulloch nor Mr. Welles has any disposition to remain in office any longer. We should not be surprised to learn before the present number of our journal shall have been issued, that both had retired, not in compliance with the wish of the President, but against his will. Neither would withdraw from the Chief Magistrate of the Republic as long as he was in any danger; but now that justice has triumphed in his

case, they are quite willing to give others an opportunity of serving their country better than they, if they can do it; or if the majority of the nation think they can. If they do not withdraw in this manner, we are convinced that it is because they have been dissuaded from it by men who are capable of appreciating their services. It is true, that there may be no need for the navy for some time to come, but we have already paid far too dearly for the lesson that it is not when war has actually broken out we should prepare our fleets for active service.

Be this as it may, at no period of our history has it been more important that our finances should be skilfully managed than it is at present; and who has the necessary abilities, experience, and integrity to manage them in such a manner as to enable us to return to specie payments without creating a revulsion, or injuring the national credit, and, consequently, the national honour, if Mr. McCulloch retires? We really do not know one, save Mr. Chase, whose position precludes him from returning to the Treasury. Mr. Fessenden is, indeed, honest and upright, and is by no means an indifferent political economist, but we confess we have not much faith in his financial theories.

There are, however, two cabinet officers whose retirement, or removal, would be no serious loss to the nation—namely, the Secretary of State, and the Postmaster-General. Mr. Seward has never proved himself a statesman. The best that could be said of him in his palmiest days was, that he was a wily and not very reliable politician. During the war he was constantly blundering; he never was able to comprehend the position in which the country was placed. Had he been a man of a different calibre—had he possessed even ordinary political foresight or sagacity, and known how to avail himself of it, the Southern Confederacy would never have been recognised by any of the great nations of Europe as a belligerent power. He really encouraged France and England to do what they did by his quibbles and prevarications. The manner in which he wavered from day to day—flatly contradicting in one long letter, what he positively asserted, or maintained as an “eternal principle,” in another—made most of the nations of Europe think that the fate of the Republic was sealed. Indeed, we narrowly escaped being involved by him in a war with France and England.

It is true, however, that Mr. Seward evinced consid-

erable capacity, but not in statesmanship, or even in politics; he proved himself an excellent, though rather tyrannical, police officer. Even Fouché was not more prompt, or more cunning in making arrests. By his accomplishments in this department he rendered some of our forts nearly as celebrated as the French Bastille; but as there is nothing of this kind to be done now, at least in the North, Mr. Seward's services can be dispensed with for the remainder of President Johnson's term. Then with the leisure for thought thus afforded him for seven or eight months he might be able to alter his views to such an extent that he could be a thorough Radical or Democrat, as the case might be, by the fourth of March, and consequently be able to serve his country, without injuring his conscience, under the new *régime*.

We do not know whether Mr. Randall possesses equal facility in altering his principles to suit the times; we rather think not, however: what he seems to surpass all other postmasters in is, putting letters and periodicals astray. We do not think he does so intentionally; doubtless he cannot help it; but certainly the nation can better spare him than so many letters; and if the only loss we suffer from the Impeachment trial be that of the services of Messrs. Seward and Randall for a few months, it will be admitted that it has not proved a very serious affair after all.

## IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

### BELLES LETTRES.

*Woman's Wrongs: A Counter-Irritant.* By GAIL HAMILTON. 16mo, pp. 212. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

WE have often been told that Gail Hamilton is a very clever writer, but this is the first of her productions which we have found time to read; we trust it is not a fair specimen. We are very willing to believe that her stories are very good, at least for children and for adults who have no thoughts of their own; but we cannot help thinking that she is a very indifferent moralist, and that her philosophy is rather crude. It is very evident, however, that she thinks differently herself; and doubtless there are many honest people who accept her own estimate of her genius, and regard her as a shining light. Be this as it may, we should have found no fault with her performances had she not assumed the

character of a new lawgiver, and as such sought to cast Moses, Solon, Confucius, and Paul into the shade, as mere smatterers and blunderers.

That a woman should be the champion of women is perhaps right enough; that is, when they need a champion; when they are really wronged, and when the men have become so degenerate, that instead of protecting, they aid in oppressing her. But is this true of the men of America? Is it true of the men of any civilized country? That some women are wronged is very true, but are not men wronged also; nay, does not man wrong his fellow-man much oftener and more readily than he wrongs woman. But we are speaking of veritable wrongs, whereas the wrongs so valiantly attacked by Gail Hamilton belong exclusively to the imaginary species.

Women are wronged, our author tells us, because they are not allowed to vote; because it is denied that they are equal to men; because they are not permitted to occupy certain positions now generally monopolized by men; because in short, they are prevented from discarding their petticoats and wearing pantaloons in their stead.

No doubt there are ladies who regard these as great evils, but do they belong in general to the respectable class? Is it the modest and virtuous class of women that want to go to the polls and compete for those offices whose influence even on the ruder sex is so degrading? By no means; and it is equally certain that it is not that class who want to employ such champions as Gail Hamilton, or that set any value on such books as "Woman's Wrongs." At the same time we entirely acquit our author of any intention to do wrong; nay, we readily believe that her wish is to do good, but the tendency of her book is to do mischief, by rendering weak-minded women discontented with their present position, and anxious to obtrude themselves into a sphere which is foreign to their nature, and in which few, if any, of the sex escape contamination.

It requires little reflection to see that women who are intelligent, modest, and gentle, need no laws to entitle them to vote; their voice is always heard without any such law; nay, they are much more powerful in their parlours and dining-rooms than the most favourable franchise law could possibly render them at the polls. Nor is it alone in republics that their influence is all pervading; in the most gloomy despotisms, where no voting is recognized, the softening voice of woman is heard, and her influence is felt, although it may not be perceived. The worst tyrants have yielded to her modest and touching appeals as a wife, mother, or lover, what he would have contemptuously denied had she claimed it on the ground of her being equal to man, as a politician, a soldier, a lawyer, an astronomer, &c., &c.

But let us turn our attention to "Woman's Wrongs" for a few moments, and allow Gail to speak for herself, and show whether we do her injustice or not. Our author takes up, as a sort of text, some letters written by the Rev. Dr. Todd on "Woman's Rights." We know as

*little* about Dr. Todd personally as we do about Gail Hamilton; and certainly we would rather agree with the lady than with the gentleman, if it were possible for us to do so conscientiously, but whoever Dr. Todd is, we hold that he is a much better logician, moralist, and philosopher than Gail Hamilton. This opinion we have formed from the extracts which the lady has given in her book; for we have never seen the performances of which "*Woman's Wrongs*" purports to be a review, nor have we ever heard of them from any other source. In general, his arguments, as quoted by Gail, are pretty sound; but those by which she pretends to refute them are, in general, no arguments. The lady is very flippant. She is at no loss for words, but, unhappily, she fails to imbue them with much sense. She gives a quotation from the Doctor, finds fault with his grammar, and is somewhat abusive of himself, and then flies off at a tangent, to pick up a few things that have no conceivable bearing on the argument which she fancies she is all the time "refuting." She tells us very gently about the Doctor's "impotent and sometimes ridiculous logic," his "irreverent assumption of the Divine prerogatives," his "sentimental silliness," &c., &c. (p. 4). In the same page we are informed that "marriage became in his hands a base commercial transaction," because he would advise women to stay at home and mind their business, rather than gad about,—because he would have them attend domestic affairs in preference to the affairs of the nation.

In short, because the Doctor thought that making a pie or a pudding might be as useful as making a speech, he has "reduced women to the level of the beasts that perish" (*Id.*). What a monster! At page 7, our author proceeds to inform us how it was that this dangerous matter was brought to her attention. "In late issues," she says, "of an able, if not the leading, religious newspaper in New England, appeared a series of articles from the pen of Dr. Todd, entitled '*Woman's Rights*.'" Then the recommendation which they received from the editor is quoted; next we are informed that "an able, if not the leading secular newspaper of New England," was so ungallant and stupid as to praise the same matter as soon as it appeared in book form, saying that it is "full of good, strong common-sense, which will commend it to the great majority of American women" (p. 8).

Whether this be true or not, it is certainly more than could be said of the book which purports to be a refutation of it. Dr. Todd wishes, it seems, to address himself to the sensible and modest portion of the sex; he desires to reason with them on the subject without making any claim to superiority,—a proposition which Gail Hamilton disposes of by quoting a line of elegant poetry (p. 14), which shows that her taste is nearly as good as her logic:

"Will you, will you, will you, will you walk in, Mr. Fly."

Dr. Todd is of opinion that the delicate organization of woman unfits

her for long-continued labour, even in those spheres for which it is claimed by the advocates of woman's rights they are best calculated. "Did you ever know a woman," he asks, "who could endure being a teacher till seventy-five, as men often do," &c. The reply of Gail Hamilton to this is that men "*might, in some cases, till seventy-five thousand,*" for all the fatigue their teaching need cause them" (p. 20).

Dr. Todd tells the ladies that if they take off their robes, put on pants and run about unbidden to do the work of men, they cannot be good wives and mothers, &c. All this Gail Hamilton "refutes" after the following fashion: "During the late war was there not an army of women at home as large as the army of men in the field, and did they not work as long and as efficiently?" (p. 33). Those who went to the war, however, were the best types of womanhood; accordingly we have long and glowing accounts of some of them in "Woman's Wrongs." What a splendid specimen of the sex was Mrs. Bickerdyke, for example? quite a goodly number of pages are devoted to her achievements. Gail tells us that this lady was called the mother of a regiment, if not of a whole brigade (p. 191 *et seq.*). No doubt she deserved the title; but it is to be feared that some patriotic Amazons are as much the wife as the mother of the regiment. Gail admits that, exemplary as Mother Bickerdyke was, there were surgeons who "cursed her and clamoured for her removal" (p. 192). True, they were not the right kind of surgeons who did this, but the faithless and ignorant. Those of the opposite character could not have done without her. Among the womanly exploits of Mrs. Bickerdyke which Gail Hamilton calls upon us to admire, is the following (it is only necessary for the reader to bear in mind that a "sanitary shirt" had been appropriated by one not entitled to it, and that the good mother detected the culprit):—

"'Where did you get that shirt?' she said, fiercely. 'It's none of your business,' he answered. 'I'll see if it isn't,' she replied; and seizing it, as he had no coat on, she drew it over the head of the unfortunate wight, stunned into silence. 'Now let me see your feet,' said she, stooping and taking one in her hand. Off came the socks and slippers in a twinkling, to the infinite delight of the patients. The denuded thief slunk off suddenly, a sadder and a wiser man, and Mrs. B. had no further trouble in this hospital concerning sanitary stores."—pp. 193-4.

This was a model woman. She did not permit herself to be hampered by any conventionalities; she did what she liked, and what she disliked she did not do, no matter who asked her; or if she obliged anybody it was somebody who had no claim upon her. "I should like to see Dr. Todd tiptoeing up to Mother Bickerdyke," says our author "and telling her that her happiness consisted in her dependence as wife, mother, and daughter" (p. 197). Probably she would give him a fist or a kick, or draw his shirt over his head!

Now one of the worst wrongs of women, be it remembered, is that they are not permitted by their tyrannical husbands or fathers to per-



form such exploits as those of Mrs. Bickerdyke. It is bad enough, Gail thinks, that women are not generally allowed to compete with men in obtaining situations, but even, when they succeed sometimes in getting into a handsome position, they get little more than half the salary the men get. There is no doubt that there are men who take an advantage of them in this way, but it is equally true that there are others who pay them not only as much as they pay men, but more. Nay, not unfrequently work furnished by women is accepted and paid for without a murmur, which, if furnished by men, would have been rejected without hesitation. Indeed, we strongly suspect that if the volume before us had been presented to Ticknor & Fields as the performance of one wearing pantaloons, together with beard, mustaches, &c., it would have been declined, though very politely, before the sixth page was read—not a line of it would have been printed; although, of course, this would have been a serious loss to womankind.

Dr. Todd remarks, in substance, that since there are seventy-five thousand more women than men in New England, it is not to be expected that all the former could find employment in positions usually occupied by the latter, seeing that not a few of the men themselves are out of employment; still less is it to be expected, he says, that these seventy-five thousand women could get as good salaries as the men, of whom there is a comparative scarcity. Political economists tell us that whatever glut the market must be more or less cheap; nor are strong-minded women exempt from the operation of this law. But Gail Hamilton disposes of it in her usual elegant and convincing style. "The seventy thousand women," she says, "may sit on the curbstone and *suck their thumbs* for any thing he has to suggest," &c. (p. 59). If this handsome brigade were only allowed to vote, all might be right; from this it follows, as a matter of course, that to prevent them is a most iniquitous thing. Gail proves the fact in her usual happy way. "Are American women, *as a class*," she asks, "more unfit to vote than Irishmen? Are they less capable of understanding issues involved, and of passing judgment upon measures proposed, than negroes who have been slaves for generations?" (p. 87). This settles the point. Everybody knows that Irishmen are unfit to vote; some think that negroes are somewhat unfit also; but both races are occasionally permitted to vote; *ergo* the fitness of women is demonstrated!

Dr. Todd thinks that the young women of the present day are forced to study too much, since, in addition to ordinary branches, they have to study chemistry, botany, astronomy, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, French, often German, Latin, perhaps Greek, &c., &c. (p. 53). But Gail Hamilton sees no difficulty in all this. "I affirm," she says, "that if, between the ages of six and eighteen, a girl cannot *get all those things* she is a *poor thing*," (p. 58). Kepler, Newton, and Bacon, as well as Aristotle and Plato, have confessed themselves

ignorant of many things. We believe the most learned men of the present day admit also that there are some things which they do not understand. But a modern school-girl who does not know every thing is "a poor thing," according to our author. In La Fontaine's time to learn Hebrew, the sciences, and history, was regarded as an effort somewhat similar to drinking up the sea.

"Si j'apprenois l'Hebreu, les sciences, l'histoire,  
Tout cela, c'est la mer à boire."

But this would be only children's play in this enlightened age and country. As for Gail Hamilton, her learning must be unbounded. Nothing is hidden from her that is within the reach of human ken. It is true that this might not be inferred from her style at a casual glance; but a closer examination would readily reveal its classic polish. What can be finer, for example, than the taste she displays, and so unostentatiously, in those quotations, which she has always at hand to give the *coup de grace* to an impertinent argument? We need only point out one or two instances to satisfy the most stupid or most skeptical, how full of refinement she is in this respect. We doubt whether any logician, but herself, would have hit on the following beautiful lines as a refutation of all the arguments brought against female suffrage (p. 74):—

"I do not like you, Dr. Fell,  
The reason why I cannot tell," &c.

It is superfluous for us to transcribe the whole quotation, since every reader of taste must be acquainted with that fine *morceau*. Still more classical, and apposite, perhaps, is the couplet:—

"Owen Moore has run away,  
Owing more than he can pay."

We trust we shall never again have the disagreeable task of criticising a book of this kind from the pen of Gail Hamilton. We can assure the lady that we should much rather speak of her efforts in the language of approbation than in that of censure. As already intimated, we do not doubt that she can write very interesting magazine stories; but her philosophy is a spurious article; and were her "Woman's Rights" ethics adopted, we might regard modesty and delicacy—those charms of the sex which fascinate us most—as virtually discarded. But, fortunately, there is no danger. It would take far sounder logic than Gail is capable of to induce any sensible woman to accept her theories—indeed, no one would do so who was not rather prone to vagaries before a line of the present volume was written.

*Highland Rambles. A Poem.* By WILLIAM B. WRIGHT. 12mo, pp. 183.  
Boston: Adams & Co. 1868.

We know neither the author nor the publishers of this little volume. It has reached our table without any heralding; not a word are we told

about it even in the form of a preface. A dedication, indeed, it has, but a peculiar one; it consists of two or three simple stanzas addressed to nobody in particular, except we regard Love as possessing flesh and bones. From this it might be inferred that the volume is all about love. There is love enough in it; but no excess; nothing mawkish. The author is evidently aware that even love may be made a drug by being thrust forward in all situations. The most beautiful and fascinating woman must not always talk in an amorous strain, if she would retain her hold on our affections. Love has a very wide reign, undoubtedly; but many other passions and feelings enter into the composition of human nature; and, accordingly, the poet who would be natural, must give those other passions and feelings their due proportions in his portraiture.

We should not have deemed it necessary to make any remark of this kind were it not so much the habit, at the present day, to exaggerate, *ad nauseam*, whatever is chosen as a subject, and admitted to be worthy of praise. "Poems" are constantly reaching us constructed on this plan; but none read them. The authors blame the public taste for this; they say poetry is slighted. The age, they complain, is too utilitarian; it has no admiration for the beautiful, only for the useful—what brings the dollar, or helps to get it in some way; whereas the truth is, that the sort of stuff alluded to is not poetry at all, but a kind of jargon which does not express the feelings or aspirations of either men or angels.

Now, it is precisely because the public is improving in its taste that it rejects such as this; and we hope it will continue to do so until our would-be Homers, Virgils, Dantes, and Miltons learn that something more than rhyme, or blank verse, sentimentalism, vulgar slang, or high-sounding bombast, vanity, and assurance is necessary to constitute poetry. We are so wearied of examining the "Poems" sent to our office, and finding after all our pains and loss of time that they are unworthy of the briefest notice, that, when any thing even tolerable falls into our hands, we are not only willing, but glad to do full justice to its merits. But "Highland Rambles" is not merely tolerable; the poem contains not a few noble passages. Many of its simplest strains are at once musical and elevated, and not unfrequently they have all the freshness as well as the Æolian plaintiveness of the Highland breeze when the voice of the pibroch recalls the deeds of other days.

But we must hasten to let the reader judge for himself, bearing in mind that no description, however elaborate or graphic, can give as accurate an idea of poetry as a specimen of itself. At the same time, we would not have the reader expect too much; we think it rather our duty to warn him that he must not expect to find every thing in "Highland Rambles" musical and beautiful, or even simply faultless, for our poet occasionally uses expressions which are neither poetical nor appropriate. In general, indeed, his verse lacks polish; but still more generally his

thoughts are striking; they are often original, and nearly always in sympathy with the true aspirations of humanity.

The poem opens with three young men "strayed spirits," Arthur, Vivian, and Paul, ready to start on a tour through the Highlands. But in order to prepare us for the scenes and incidents that await us, we are presented with some lively stanzas; even these, placed as they are in the vestibule, have truth and nature enough in them to give a foretaste of what we may expect when we reach the interior of the edifice, as one or two of them will show :—

Forth, and snap the cunning fetter;  
Couched in Alpine bower,  
Thou shalt have thy senses better  
Where cool-fronted mountains tower.

Hearts of men, 'tis said, beat surer  
In their lordly bosoms,  
Simpler faiths spring, love flows purer,  
Life comes out in fresher blossoms.—Page 9.

The spirit in which the three sallied forth is well described; at the same time we obtain a bird's-eye view of a beautiful and romantic landscape.

They glided over bosomed meads, where now  
The merle and robin helped the lark to thrill  
The brightening cope with pulses of sweet sound,  
Shook from the tree-foil half its load of dew,  
And won with shout and leap the shaggy spurs  
Of the height, and wrestling with the steepness gained  
The summit, as the first keen lance of the sun  
Splintered upon its crest and turned in rout  
The trembling vapors.—Page 11.

After the three had wandered about for some time admiring the Alpine beauties on every side, Paul sings a song which is not unworthy of the land of Campbell and Burns. He had but just finished the last stanza when a footstep was heard, on "a ledge that neighboured." This incident is well conceived, and turned to excellent account. The stranger is old, and he is treated with the respect which age should always receive when unaccompanied with vice or crime; we can only make room for a fragment of the description :—

Straightway all arose,  
Startled to sudden reverence by one,  
Noble in mien, though bowed beneath his years.  
Leaning upon a gnarled staff he seemed  
Some fragment of an antique world, a sage  
Fit to have fostered kingliest hearts, and shown  
Beauty and truth to a heroic age.—Page 14.

The old man welcomes the youths in a spirit which is in entire accordance with his character :—

'Tis mine to welcome, for meseems I read  
A softer clime upon your cheeks, not masked  
With our rude bronze, and in your eyes I find  
Perplexed mirrors of unwonted scenes.—Page 15.

After he has related to them some of the results of his experience, and entertained them with reminiscences, Vivian proceeds to give an account of himself and his companions. This, too, it will be seen, is quite in character; Vivian speaks as an intelligent student who has been trained to think would be expected to do:—

Three half-blown pedants we,  
New-fledged from Academic nests, not yet  
Full masters of the wing. Some vacant months  
We slip the Sisyphean weight of books,  
And sweep our thoughts of all scholastic dust  
And esoteric breathings of the schools;  
Bathing our souls in highland valleys, shade  
And sunlight, treading with monastic feet  
The sylvan aisles and loud oracular seats  
Of nature.—Page 15.

These, however, are not fair specimens; the poet soars much higher; it is certain that he becomes more and more original and eloquent as he proceeds; and need we say that this is a proof of genius in itself. Further on the travellers engage in a lively good-humoured discussion on State affairs. Paul thinks that statesmen and philosophers may be expected to proceed from the woods in certain circumstances, forgetting that they are very scarce even in the capitals of cities; but for this he is duly criticised:—

But then

Arthur let loose his wonted fierce disdain:  
"Miraculous statesmen these! Rare kings of men!  
Fie, Paul, you lack acquaintance with the world.  
Your eyes droop away, and you miss the thing  
That woos you to observe it. Who would ride  
The storm, must like the eagle first make strong  
His wings by buffeting its thunder-breath.  
Ha, ha, God help your sceptred anchorites.  
Far wiser they to tend their cabbages,  
To train the rose or list the robin pipe,  
Than feed the popular dragon on the cates  
Of delicate idealisms."

But the reader has yet seen nothing on love from a poem which is dedicated to Cupid. Very properly our poet is in no hurry to make his students fall in love, knowing that once in love it will not be easy to induce them to return to their studies; he is evidently aware that one who is fully smitten with the tender passion is not in a favourable frame of mind for enjoying even the romantic beauties of the Highlands. Sooner or later they must love, however; and accordingly the case of one is described as follows:—

Mounting they beheld,  
Within a rose-plot, Edith, whose sweet smiles  
Long since had thieved the passionate heart of Paul.  
She propped a pale tube-rose whose fragile grace  
Too eager winds had clasped; her piteous eye  
Quickened the pulses in its stem, her breath  
Doubled the ripening fragrance of the bud.

Oh, who could paint her as she seemed to him !  
 Ah, to his eye the roses' wealth of hue  
 Was shamed by that one rose upon her cheek.  
 The spirit of the summer filled her eyes,  
 Deep fountains of a mild and dewy light:  
 Twin buds that sleep, half opened, cheek to cheek,  
 Were those soft-glowing lips, and round her chin  
 Gathered the subtly curving lines of grace  
 That mould and plump a taper pear. He thought  
 The lily-rose less graceful from its stalk  
 Than from the snowy arching of her neck,  
 The splendour of her head. But he not typed  
 By other loveliness the mystic swell  
 Of the rich bosom, musically heaved,  
 Nor the sunlight of smiles that wont to haunt  
 The sporting dimples of her faultless hand.—Pages 82, 83.

This, be it remembered, is but a small fragment of Edith's portrait; she is described in full, and, with the exception of a harsh line and forced expression here and there, it must be admitted that the description is natural enough. As it is but fair we should point out the forms of expression to which we object, we will remark that Mr. Wright is rather partial to the word "thieve," "thieved," "typed," &c. We think it will be admitted that it is at least as poetical to "steal" the heart of maiden or swain, as to "thieve" it. Thief is rather an ugly name for a lover; at least the term would imply illicit or dishonourable love; but is there anything illicit or dishonourable in "sweet smiles," and it was they we are informed that

Thieved the passionate heart of Paul.

But a few pages further on our author makes full amends for making thieves of Edith's bright and honest eyes. We are sure our lady readers will readily forgive him when they see how charmingly he describes the dawn of love in the following passage, with which we must conclude our extracts:—

Oh rose and matchless fragrance of all hours,  
 When Love salutes us from a maiden's eyes,  
 And magic instincts stir and the young heart  
 Gushes in song! Oh golden sum of all,  
 When two clear billows on the sea of Beauty  
 Moved upon diverse but systematic tides,  
 Break to each other o'er the rocky bars  
 Of personality, and, blending, bloom  
 Upward in a white foam of spotless passion!  
 Yet this is Love, the mystic elf, quick-born  
 Upon the tremulous bosom of a sigh,  
 A gleam, a glow, a fine and fitting pinion,  
 A liquid rhyme or young Titania's dream.  
 But lovers must aye purge their mortal selves,  
 Making their breasts clear shrines of crystalline,  
 That Beauty, from her lodge in either soul  
 Peeping, may quickly know herself and yearn  
 For that old oneness ere the man was framed.  
 The lovers are the chosen, unto them  
 The incommunicable is revealed.

We have thus devoted considerable space and time to this volume, not because it contains any thing very remarkable, but because we wish to encourage those who have a taste for poetry. If there were many poems, worthy of the name, produced in our time, "Highland Rambles," we might, perhaps, have laid aside, or we might have devoted a paragraph or two to a favourable word of it; but it is useless to set up a higher standard than can be reached, and condemn as worthless whatever falls short of that standard. We should all like to have a prime article; but if we cannot get the best, then we ought to make the most of the best we can get, if only in the hope of inducing others to make a step in advance. We do not agree with those who say that poetry is useless; it is only of the spurious article this can be said. Nothing that is pleasing, or that affords rational gratification is useless; nothing is useless that soothes us or that awakens in us generous sympathies; and that genuine poetry is capable of producing those influences, none capable of judging would for a moment deny. If Plato would not have a poet in his model republic, he did not value poetry the less on this account; a fact sufficiently proved by the pains he has taken to enable every intelligent person to enjoy it to the fullest extent.

*The Mind of Francis de Sales.* A Book of Religious Life. Translated from the Old Original French. By Mrs. NORTH PEAR. 16mo, pp. 274. New York: Genl. Prot. Episc. S. S. Union. 1868.

No believer in Christianity, let him belong to what sect he may, would deny that this little volume deserves a place in the family library. We do not pretend to be pious ourselves; but we hold genuine piety in high esteem, because we are sure that its influence is salutary. Nothing contributes more to human happiness than good thoughts; it is not alone Christians they act upon and improve; they affect all who think more or less. And this is particularly true of the thoughts of De Sales, which, from the power they have exercised throughout Christendom, are called his spirit or mind. It is pleasant to see a Protestant society of the present day recognizing the true worth of a Catholic bishop, who flourished more than three hundred years ago. This is as it ought to be; would that all sects were equally liberal, and equally consistent with their professions; we should not have nearly as many rival churches as there are chapters in the Bible.

De Sales would not thank any one for being gentle when none contradicted, offended, or irritated him. "Wild beasts," he says, "become tame when kindly treated" (p. 13). "If we are as we ought to be," he says, "we will be kind to the ill-tempered—even to those who calumniate and abuse us" (Ib.). He would also have us reply with politeness to offensive words; what is perhaps more difficult still, he would have us endure the refusal of a petition without displeasure (p. 18). We fear

there are not many who are equal to this; although much depends on the nature of the petition or request.

De Sales was too wise a man to recommend excessive austerities. He thought strong, vigorous people might profit in their morals from occasional fasting; but that feeble, delicate people had better avoid it. "It is that," he says, "which strikes at the root of the tree; the others (referring to austerities) only graze it, scratch the bark, or clear away a few excrescences. The body when poorly fed is more easily subdued; when abundantly nourished it kicks and rears" (p. 181). But he becomes more definite and explicit as he proceeds. "The spirit," he says, "faints beneath the weight of the body when the latter is *too gross*, and the body when it is *too weak* cannot bear the *spirit* in consequence of its weakness" (p. 182).

This is a very good criterion for those who are in doubt whether they should fast or not. We confess we are not among the number ourselves, for we never refuse a good, well-cooked beefsteak except when our appetite is defective. But we do not the less respect those who do fast on this account; we only hope they will agree with us that De Sales is right in thinking that fasting may sometimes degenerate into a species of suicide. Be this as it may, the little volume before us cannot be read without profit by the most careless.

#### EDUCATION.

*Grand Annual Celebration of the Philodemic Society of Georgetown College.* Pamphlet, pp. 72. Baltimore. 1868.

We have great respect for Georgetown College, because it has done much good; for the same reason we respect and esteem the Jesuits as a body, whose institution it is. It is not their religion, however, or their peculiar dogmas that have inspired us with those feelings, although we have no fault to find with either, and have never found any. If their opinions, or faith, are not ours, we are not the less certain that if no worse influences, religious, moral, or political, than theirs were exercised on society, the world would not suffer much either from precept or example. Men who devote themselves to education have never done much mischief; probably none at all to society at large; for what sometimes seems evil to the narrow-minded and thoughtless has proved in the lapse of time to be positive good.

Thus fully do we recognize the prestige of the Jesuits as educators. But is a prestige to last forever? Supposing it does, will it continue to do the work that first won it? It will be admitted that if we employ a tutor to instruct our children, the question is not, Was his grandfather, or great-grandfather, a celebrated teacher, but, Is he a competent teacher himself? If he is not, would it not be carrying veneration and prestige



a little too far to give him the employment in compliment to his ancestors of one or two hundred years ago?

But does this apply to the Jesuits of the present day? Are there persons among us who send them their sons, not because they know them to be competent instructors, but because the Society once had, if it has not still, a great name? We fear that every candid person will have to answer this question in the affirmative. It is not to be expected that those who dispose of their children to-day, in accordance with what was done hundreds of years ago, would enquire very closely whether educational fraternities, which were not in existence when the Jesuits were famous throughout the world as educators, might not be quite as good, if not somewhat better, than those who assume the same name as the famous ones. No such idea occurs to them; with them the name is every thing. If there is any difference between an old lamp and a new lamp,—between the lamp of Aladdin and the lamp of Smith,—it is in favour of the latter, which has got the modern improvements. But while the class alluded to would thus give the preference to a new lamp, if allowed to choose, a candlestick or a chandelier would not suit them at all. Either, it is true, might answer the same purpose,—nay, be even better than the lamp,—show a more brilliant and more honest light. But the name is what they want; a lamp is a lamp, though it may emit but a flickering glare.

All this, however, does not impugn the qualifications of the Jesuits of the present day. They are not to blame if their labours are more highly estimated than those of some other fraternities, who do their work as intelligently and faithfully as they. But are the Jesuits in this country worthy of the ancient Society? A few years ago we thought they were; but changes have since taken place which have very considerably modified our opinion on that subject. Perhaps it is we that are wrong and the Jesuits right, for we do not pretend to be infallible; on the contrary, we admit that there are many things of which we are ignorant. At all events we do not alter our views without reasons which are satisfactory at least to ourselves; nor do we want to conceal those reasons from our readers, since they are of no value to us any further than they are true; and the truth is just what we are seeking in the present case.

Well, some four or five years ago we found two Jesuit colleges in this country in a flourishing condition. Georgetown College was one of these; the other was the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass. No similar institutions belonging to any denomination were doing their work more thoroughly, nor did we hesitate to bear testimony to the fact. But at this time we were not aware that some Provincials of the Society remove men of capacity from the charge of their colleges, in order to make room for men of no capacity. It is true that men of very small capacity were in charge at the same time of two Jesuit colleges not far from New York, but we thought they were placed there only by

accident, and that as soon as better could be procured, they would get leave of absence. Accordingly, one or two were sent to some remote part, and more capable men, or rather less incapable men, were put in their places. This, although not all that could be desired, was an improvement, and we accepted it as such; we inferred from it that when presidents or rectors of Jesuit colleges were removed, more competent men were put in their places. Yet we confess we did not think very highly of the judgment of our New York Provincial; we thought that if he did not lack some essential qualification he could easily have selected better rectors. Still, as we have said, he improved somewhat on the old, and is, therefore, entitled to the credit of making some progress, however little.

But the Provincial having charge of Georgetown and Holy Cross, pursues exactly the opposite course; he removes men whose superior capacities are acknowledged by all—men of comprehensive minds and enlarged views, and puts men of narrow minds and contracted views in their place. We have really no unkind feeling towards either of the new rectors; we would not do either the slightest injury if it were in our power. Nor have we the least doubt that they are men of blameless lives, and excellent clergymen. It is only as parts of a system that we speak of them in the present instance; without the slightest ill-will towards anybody, we are obliged to regard them as obstructions to the great cause of education, in behalf of which the Society has gained so much well-merited renown.

It is true that the southern Provincial has sought to make amends to some extent for each of the blunders which he committed; and for this we are willing to give him due credit. Finding, when it is a little too late, that it was not well to remove a well tried, highly respected and eminently successful rector, and make room for a gentleman of slender experience and still more slender abilities, as an instructor, although strictly upright and well-meaning—he makes the deposed President a Vice-President. This would be very well if a Jesuit Vice-President was not merely the shadow of the President; the latter is the ruling power, to whom the former has to render the most implicit obedience in all things.

The Provincial seeks to remedy the second *faux pas* by giving the second displaced President of a first-class college charge of a fifth-rate college, or school, and then, after a little further reflection, giving the same gentleman charge of a third-rate college. This is probably the best that could have been done under the circumstances; all are liable to err, and accordingly, we have no disposition to speak either hastily or disrespectfully of the Provincial. We are only sorry, for the sake of the great cause of education, that, if it was necessary to make changes, other men were not placed in charge of Georgetown and Holy Cross respectively. We could ourselves mention half a dozen, any two of whom would have made rectors to whom none could object. We forbear doing so, how-

ever, lest we might be the cause of bringing trouble on gentlemen who are in no manner responsible for our opinions, further than that their scholarship and educational abilities impressed us highly when we had the privilege of being present at some of their ordinary lectures to their classes.

But it is not alone the best presidents who are removed about in this way; the best professors are removed in a similar manner; so that in the course of two years nearly the entire faculty are new men to the students. Who will pretend that this is right? Will it be asserted by the merest tyro in teaching or learning, that students will learn as much from strangers, whom they had never heard of until they took charge of their class, as they would have learned from those under whose tuition they had spent a year or two of their course, in whose abilities they had confidence, and whose friendly and conscientious zeal for their improvement had secured their attachment and esteem?

The contrary is well known to every intelligent person. But let any one look at the faculty of Georgetown College, or Holy Cross College, as officially published to-day, and compare it with the faculty of only two or three years ago. How many of the old remain? If we are right in our calculation, not one-fifth. The rest, generally the best, are scattered to the four points of the compass. In short, the Georgetown, or the Holy Cross, of to-day, is nearly as different from the Georgetown or the Holy Cross of three years ago, in all things save the buildings, the grounds, and the name, as almost any two colleges in the country are from each other.

It is idle, then, for our American Jesuit colleges to call themselves *Alma Mater*. Even in Mahometan countries, children do not get a new mother every two or three years; or if they do, they call them step-mothers. The name *Alma Noverca* is therefore much more appropriate than *Alma Mater*, under the circumstances indicated, although it must be admitted that a *noverca* is seldom *alma*. At the same time, we do not attribute any harshness to the new faculty more than to the old, or any disposition on the part of the present mother, or step-mother, to give an over-dose of paragonic. We are only speaking now of what we consider the very unfavourable moral influence of those changes, altogether independently of the literary qualifications and intellectual abilities of the professors.

Nor is there any thing in the *brochure* before us, considered as a whole, which conflicts in the slightest degree with our views; on the contrary, we think it goes far to confirm those views. By this we do not mean, however, but it is a respectable, intelligent publication; one which would do no discredit to any college. We should be neither fair nor just did we attempt to disparage the efforts of the Philodemic Society; we should be wanting in principle as well as in candour, did we permit ourselves to sneer at the celebration of a society which has done so much

good, and whose elevating influence is by no means confined to the students of the college. But had its character been different, our respect and esteem for its Rev. President would have protected it from any strictures on our part, knowing, as we should, from experience, that if it had faults they would soon disappear, or at least be much diminished, under the auspices of that judicious and accomplished educator.

The *brochure* gives a very graphic account of the celebration, copied from the *Baltimore Mirror*—a journal that does honour to the Catholic press in this country by the decided ability and liberal, cosmopolitan spirit with which it is conducted. Our respect for the *Mirror* is so great that we feel sincere regret when we criticise those whom it commends, or around whom it casts its friendly and genial mantle. But our business is to review and to point out, as best we can, the difference between gold and mere tinsel. If we are not capable of the task, then any one who chooses is quite welcome to criticise us as freely as he likes. We certainly do not mean, however, to call the poem on "Peace" either tinsel or pot-metal; on the contrary, we regard it as a genuine effort of the lyric muse, and consequently we are not at all surprised at the fervidness of the *Mirror* in telling us that "the opening lines, pronounced by the sonorous voice of the author, stirred as the sound of a trumpet; and the true poetic fire which showed throughout the piece warmed up the attention during the entire half hour of its delivery" (p. 51).

The historical sketch of Georgetown College is also worth reading. It will be admitted by all who are acquainted with the institution, that no tribute was ever better deserved than that contained in the following sentence:—

"The close of President Early's career was blessed by a return of the same prosperity which marked its opening, and after a term of more than seven years, during which he conducted the College with success through a period of severe and unexampled difficulty, he retired, January 1st, 1866, to *give place*, for a second time, to Rev. B. A. Maguire" (p. 16).

We think that the closing line of this sentence was not submitted to the Very Rev. Provincial for his approbation. But what will be said of the sentence which immediately follows it?

"The term of the present incumbent has already been marked, not only by a great accession to the number of students, but by many *material* improvements. Chief among these are the very considerable enlargement of the *play-grounds*, the *embellishment of the towers*, and the general renovation of the College buildings" (p. 17).

This is rather severe on the "present incumbent." Is there no law in Georgetown against mocking one's superiors; or showing them up as violators of the *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*? We confess we did not suppose that our present rector was doing much good; still we had not so low an opinion of him as to think that he occupied himself *chiefly* with the play-grounds, although we might have inferred as much from

his sympathy for the billiard players of Fordham, and his indignation against those who had the assurance to object to the introduction into a pious Christian College of what even the Pagans ranked with adultery, intoxication, &c.\*

The embellishment of the towers is no doubt a very meritorious thing ; if one cannot put any thing nourishing in the platter, let him at least burnish it up on the *outside* ! When members of Congress run down and see those enlarged play-grounds and embellished towers, "What a splendid institution !" they will exclaim. The Hon. John Morrissey, for example, will be in ecstasies. As we understand that that gentleman has lately been studying French, we should not be surprised to hear him address the reverend renovator in the language of Monsieur Jourdain : "*Ah ! l'habile homme que vous êtes, et que j'ai perdu de temps !*" Since the generosity of our representative, is equal to his well known love of "science," we should not at all be surprised if on seeing the high estimation in which "play" is held at Georgetown under its present auspices, he would present the institution with one of his celebrated faro banks, with all the paraphernalia appertaining thereto. As to the towers, we think it would be as safe to have a little of the rust on them ; if they were too much "embellished" Butler might take them to be heaps of silver plate, and demolish them altogether.

Now, it seems to us that in their palmiest days the Jesuits would have destroyed their prestige by devoting their chief attention to the enlargement of play-grounds and the embellishment of towers. Had they not occupied their thoughts with much nobler objects, and sought the attainment of those objects by persevering, unwearied, intellectual effort, their name would have been of little value to their successors of the present day. It was not *show* or *display* the Jesuits who gained a reputation for the Society cared for ; on the contrary, it was the very thing they shunned. Their pride was to influence the world, not through its weaknesses or its vices, but through its intellect. The power on which they depended, and which they used with such wonderful effect in all parts of the world, was knowledge. This was their instrument, not the billiard-table, the chess-board, or any other gaming apparatus or play-things. Those who use the latter are, in fact, but Jesuits in name ; let them assume what airs they may, they are a degenerate race.

Not, we repeat, but there are as good men in the Society now as there ever were ; but what can they do when they are thrust into the background, and forced to render implicit obedience to those who have not the understanding to command ? In short, an entire reformation of the government of the Society, at least in this country, is needed. If the General of the Order will only take a trip to this country and visit the different colleges, we have not the least doubt that he will say we are

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\* Vide Juvenal, Sat. xi. passim.

right. It will be only necessary for him to look at the heads of our present rectors. We are no believers in the bump system, but we know that very small heads have generally very small brains, and that no length of stature, however great, can compensate for a deficiency of the *thinking apparatus*.

1. *Principia Latina*.—Part I. A First Latin Course.
2. *Principia Latina*.—Part II. A First Latin Reading Book. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., author of "A History of Greece," "A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," &c., &c. Revised by H. Dresler, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

THESE two volumes are admirably calculated to encourage the beginner in the study of Latin; and in no elementary books that we have seen in this country, are the principles of the language more fully explained, or more attractively illustrated. Part I. embraces "grammar, delectus, and exercise book, with vocabularies." Part II. contains an epitome of Cæsar's Gallic wars, and Lhomond's Lives of Distinguished Romans, together with an introduction to Roman Antiquities, and a dictionary embracing all the Latin words given in the exercises.

We have examined both parts very carefully, and we feel convinced that any intelligent instructor, who takes the same pains, will not hesitate to bear testimony to their excellence. Dr. Smith is a veteran compiler of text-books. Certainly no Englishman, or American, has done more to simplify the study of the classic languages than he; no one has afforded the student more intelligent and efficient aid, as all will acknowledge who are acquainted with his "Classical Dictionary," and "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," which are justly recognized wherever the English language is spoken, as standard works of reference. We confess we regard it as somewhat ominous.

That Professor Dresler, of Columbia College, places his name with his full title, on the title-page of each volume, as having "revised" it. Now the simple truth is, that neither needed his revising; and we are by no means sure that if it had, he was capable of doing it in a satisfactory manner. If he goes no further than this, however, there need be no complaint; we only fear from what others have done, that when a new edition is needed the Professor will attempt a little more revising, and then call the whole series "Dresler's Principia Latina." It might well seem that this is a groundless apprehension, and we hope it may prove such; but have not both Smith's admirable Dictionaries been appropriated by "revisers" belonging to the same college? It is true that the works alluded to are nothing the worse on this account; but why deprive a scholar of the honour of valuable and onerous labours, to which he devoted a large portion of his life? If one ought to bestow his own name on the works of another author, because he has added to them

some notes, an appendix, &c., then "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" ought to be called Gibbon's no longer, but Guizot's or Milman's.

If these were ordinary text-books we should have no fear of their being appropriated; nor, indeed, should we care whether they were or not. But as they are the result of much labour, thought and skill, and are calculated to render a somewhat thorny path smooth and even attractive, we protest thus early, but *sine malificio*, against their being appropriated.

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SCIENCE.

*Address of Members of the Chamber of Commerce of Geneva, and a number of Citizens, to the Congress of the United States of America, and the Chambers of Commerce of their sister Republic. Geneva, March, 1868.*

It is seldom that any public document has afforded us so much gratification as this Address, for we confess that we feel some pride in finding the views which we have advocated for nearly twenty years corroborated by the testimony of those, who, from their experience, intelligence, and impartiality, are, above all others, best calculated to form a correct opinion on the subject of those views. The Chamber of Commerce of Geneva has a peculiar character; seldom are more than one-third of its members Swiss; the remaining two-thirds consist of eminent merchants of France, Germany, Italy, and England, who have established houses at Geneva, partly because that city is favourably situated for certain kinds of trade, and partly because they prefer republicanism to monarchy. This cosmopolitan feature of the Chamber gives it a prestige throughout Europe; a fact sufficiently evident from the estimation in which its views are held by the most eminent political economists.

But the document now before us does not emanate merely from the Chamber of Commerce; it does not exclusively embrace the French, German, Italian, and English commercial experiences combined in that body but also includes the impressions of many private citizens, including authors and editors. It will be admitted that, under any circumstances, a friendly address from a body of this character should receive respectful attention; but, in this case, they address Congress on the subject which, above all others, they best understand; and they do so without the slightest tinge of selfishness, except so far as the wish to promulgate truth and expose error may deserve that name.

Nor is there anything dictatorial in the Geneva Address: those who present it do not speak as instructors; they do not assume to be more learned, or more wise than ourselves. But seeing that a large proportion of our representatives in Congress regard paper money not only

as a safe and good currency, but as equal to gold or silver, if not better than either of the precious metals, they offer us the results of long experience, to show that this is a dangerous fallacy; in other words, finding that our Secretary of the Treasury is desirous of restoring specie payments, and that he is opposed to any further issue of paper money while perhaps a majority in Congress think paper is as good as gold as a circulating medium, they beg leave as friends to bear testimony that our Secretary is right, and that, for the sake of the nation, Congress ought to sustain him.

The Address contains nothing that is new to the editor of this journal: it does not condemn paper money in more unqualified terms than we have always condemned it ourselves; although when it was, absolutely necessary to adopt it temporarily, far from opposing it, we, showed that the greatest and wealthiest nations have had recourse to paper money in similar emergencies.\* Our view of paper money, as compared to gold has always been equivalent to this: if one may try to content himself in a hovel or "shanty" for a few months, or even years, in war times, that is no reason why he should always continue to prefer it to a fine marble, brown-stone, or even plain brick residence. Let no one think that this exaggerates the difference between paper money and gold. The individual might lose nothing by living awhile in a hovel. He would not be so comfortable, it is true, as in a marble or brown-stone house, suitably furnished; but the nation is always losing by its paper money. The latter is at once very expensive and very shabby. In short, the hut, or the "shanty," is a more honest piece of property; has more genuineness in it, than ten times what it would cost in paper money.

Because Secretary McCulloch has fully illustrated these principles we have sought to give him credit for the persevering, honest efforts which he has made to induce Congress to consult the interests of the country in its legislation on the currency. Neither the Chamber of Commerce of Geneva nor that of any other city in Europe or America had the priority of us in appreciating the broad, statesmanlike views of Mr. McCulloch on the subject of currency. His very first annual report, combined with the manner in which he managed the finances of the country during that year, satisfied us that Mr. Lincoln had done no wiser or better thing for the country, next to putting down the rebellion, than to place the Treasury in such able hands; nor did we hesitate to say so, as our readers will remember.

We did not regard the views of Mr. Chase on currency as by any means sound. Still, as his course was perhaps as good as could have been pursued during the war, we uttered not a word against it. But

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\* Vide *National Quarterly Review*, No. X., September, 1862, Article, "Effects of War and Speculation on Currency."



seeing that the war was crushed, if not quite over, our first care was to collect the reports and other financial documents of Mr. Chase with the view of exposing the fallacy and danger of his whole system; but when we had nearly performed all the labour a new Secretary had been appointed. Having no desire to indulge in criticisms on Mr. Chase, after his elevation to the Supreme Bench, we threw our manuscript aside, and hence it is that no "attack" upon his management of our finances has ever appeared in this journal.

We allude to this fact now only because we learn that Mr. Chase has changed his views on the subject of the currency. If we are correctly informed—which we have no reason to doubt—he now fully approves the policy of Mr. McCulloch; and we think this is as highly complimentary to the latter as even the address to Congress of the merchants and political economists of Geneva, in which Secretary McCulloch receives such high and well merited praise. It will be admitted that, next to our present Secretary, no one has more thoroughly studied our financial system than Mr. Chase. Now, if the latter is in favour of specie payments, and thinks that the sooner we discard our paper money the better, it must be held that all our greatest statesmen concur as to the pernicious influence of paper money; for, be it remembered, that in our number for December, 1867, we showed that our great men of all parties were equally emphatic in condemning it, giving quotations from one of the annual messages of President Buchanan, and from one of the great speeches in Congress of Daniel Webster, in illustration of the views of those distinguished men.\*

We now proceed to present our readers some extracts from the Geneva Address. It will perhaps appear somewhat remarkable that the views on currency expressed in those extracts are precisely those which we have expressed ourselves in these pages on several occasions; but more particularly in our last December article. That we have borrowed nothing from the Geneva Address, however, will be sufficiently evident from the fact that the latter was written just three months after the publication of our article. At the same time we readily acquit the merchants and political economists of Geneva of having borrowed from our paper. They have embodied the same principles and views in their Address, because political economy is a veritable science—because on the same day, or on different days, months apart, the problem of currency—what is the difference between a paper currency, and a gold, or silver currency, could be solved nearly in the same words by a half-dozen persons, in as many cities of Europe and America, the same as any number of persons understanding geometry may prove in nearly the same language that the square described on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is

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\* Vide No. XXXI.; Article, "Management of our Finances; and pernicious Influence of Paper Money."

equal to the sum of the squares described on the base and perpendicular.

The following brief note addressed to Mr. McCulloch accompanies the address:—

E VA, March 26th, 1868.

"SIR:—We have the honour, as instructed by the body of whom we are a Committee to send you the enclosed address, and we are happy in the belief, induced by our knowledge of your administration of the vast financial interests of your country, that it embodies, essentially, the views which you entertain."

After assuring Congress of the admiration with which they witnessed our "heroic efforts" in putting down the war, and our "energetic perseverance applied to the realization of an entirely moral interest, namely: the prohibition of Slavery," &c., the authors of the Address proceed as follows:—

"Unfortunately, the deep wounds given to your prosperity by this struggle have not been healed so promptly as we hoped.

"The one first to be named and *most pernicious*, is the adoption of a *paper currency*, which *continues its mischiefs*.

"This might have been, in the beginning, of imperious necessity; but, by its continuation, it becomes a wide-spread *calamity*; it is a *bleeding wound, always open*, which we *implore you to heal, the sooner the better*. The prosperity of the whole commercial world is intimately bound up with the prosperity of your great country."

It will be admitted that there could be no more emphatic condemnation of paper currency than this, yet we cannot say that the evil is in the least exaggerated. It is a "bleeding wound, always open," and they are certainly our friends who implore us to heal it. The Address then proceeds to show the spirit of amity and sympathy in which Congress is thus earnestly appealed to.

"We (Swiss) are strongly associated with your prosperity; by the decrease as well as by the development of, the international exchanges, and even more with every thing that interests you, *by the conformity of our political institutions and by the blessings of liberty*, which both nations enjoy in the highest degree.

"Allow us on the strength of this brotherhood of moral as well as of material import, to speak to you of those interests concerning you, as we understand them. We saw at the time, with the greatest pleasure, the measures which authorized your Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw every month a certain amount of Greenbacks; *but we noticed with deep regret, that after the repeal of that faculty*, the question has been raised of *a new emission of 140 millions of dollars of paper currency, destined to replace this very amount which had been withdrawn*."

All who are really interested in our welfare and are capable of understanding the subject, could view any such increase of our paper money only with regret. Our Geneva friends next proceed to compare gold and silver to paper as a circulating medium.

"Gold and silver, in the shape of money, are the most energetic agents to prompt industrial and commercial activity; that is to say—labour! on its development rests the development of humanity.

"To keep in circulation a paper currency, which takes the place of gold and silver in its most important functions, at the same time that the productions of the gold mines are abundant, is an anomaly which *shocks reason*, and which appears almost ungrateful to the blessings of Providence.

"The emission of paper money by any government is nothing else than a *heavy tax on the public*; a tax which *strikes at hazard*, and falls *heaviest on those least able to bear it*; the evil it produces goes on increasing from day to day, and the longer it lasts the *more disastrous* are its consequences.

"The depreciation of a paper currency imposed by government can only be compared to the alteration of coin, equal in its results to those acts, *committed by despots of antiquity and of the middle ages*, when they *diminished the standard or the weight without changing the legal value*."

There is not one of these facts which we have not put forward time after time in this journal; there is not one of them which is not placed in relief in our last December article. And the same is true of the following:—"What are the consequences of the creation of a paper currency, in regard to the justice, morality, and prospects of a people—paper currency arbitrarily imposed by a state? It is an iniquitous tax put on the creditor to the profit of the debtor." We have also anticipated the Geneva Address, in showing that the people, unaware of these corrupting influences, is always the victim. But we must give one extract more from the Address. After pointing out most of the evil consequences of paper money, it appeals directly to the good sense, self-respect, and patriotism of the American people.

"The sovereign people of the United States is the master of its destiny; *how is it that it tolerates this smarting wound*, of which it would be an easy thing to *rid itself*? By what *artful seductions* have certain interested men been able to make the people believe that it is to their advantage to have a superabundance of *fictitious money*, which drives from the country the money which has a *real value*; and makes it flow to Europe and elsewhere where it is over-abundant?

"Brethren of the United States! pray hear us! Believe in the experience of an old republican people, who have *never tolerated* the existence of *any kind of paper money*, whilst, at various times, great powers of their neighbourhood have used these means to fill their empty coffers, but the result has invariably been *bankruptcy*! Pursue the road entered into so successfully by your able Secretary of the Finances, and take care not to tolerate new emissions of Greenbacks or *any kind of paper money*."

The most intelligent of the merchants of New York fully participate in the sentiments of the Geneva Address, in regard to Mr. McCulloch; and we do not think there is one of that class, no matter to what party he belongs, who does not regard Mr. Van Dyck, his representative in this city, as emphatically the best Sub-Treasurer we have ever had.

Among those who signed the Address from which the above extracts are taken are several authors, lawyers, and editors, including Merle d'Aubigné, author of "History of the Reformation." At the time it was presented to Congress that honourable body was not in a proper frame of mind to treat it with that attention and deference to which its importance entitles it; but now that it has had some time for reflection, impeachment having failed, we are glad to see that it seems more favourable to the resumption of specie payments, than to the issue of additional millions of paper money. Should it act accordingly, as it is to be hoped, for the good of the country, it will, Secretary McCulloch may justly congratulate himself on having gained greater moral triumphs than any financial minister of modern times.

*A Treatise on Meteorology, with a Collection of Meteorological Tables.*  
By ELIAS LOOMIS, LL. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 305. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

PROF. LOOMIS gives his book a modest title. We should like to see many follow his example in this respect; for the prevailing habit in our country, at the present day, is to make a "sensation" advertisement of the title-page. This is in bad taste; worthy only of boys, from whom exaggeration must be expected until they have undergone a proper course of discipline, and are taught to expect that every tendency to "flourish," or bombast must have a blot set on it.

Meteorology is familiarly and lucidly treated in the "Treatise." The most sanguine will not be disappointed at the amount of interesting and instructive facts which the professor has compressed into this volume; otherwise they are in the habit of seeing very different works on the subject from those issued in this country in recent years. Indeed, had our author confined himself to the treatises on Meteorology in the English language, his work would have been meagre enough; for it is one of those sciences which has been but little cultivated in England; and what is neglected in England is very apt to be neglected in America.

The French and Germans are the best meteorologists, and Prof. Loomis has availed himself, to a greater or less extent, of their best works. In our opinion, he has exercised a judicious discrimination in collecting his materials from so many sources. At the same time his treatise is by no means complete; but it is sufficiently so as a text-book for schools, or a work of reference for the ordinary family library; and for the benefit of those desiring a more thorough knowledge of meteorology, a long list of French, German, and English treatises and memoirs is given at the end of the work. The "Treatise" has the advantage of a full alphabetical index; it is also illustrated. If all our school-books were so legibly printed, much fewer of our children, of both sexes, would labour under affections of the eyes than are now suffering from the effects of bad typography and cheap paper.

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HISTORY AND TRAVELS.

*The Old World in its New Face. Impressions of Europe in 1867-8.* By HENRY W. BELLOWS. Vol. I., pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

ALMOST everybody who goes to Europe at the present day wants to favour the world with his opinions on every thing he sees and hears. So many have been disappointed by books of travels, manufactured in accordance with this feeling, that the public has begun to regard all such

performances as of doubtful value. Nor can we say that it is wrong in this. A large number of those works are mere catch-pennies; although considerably more of the writers are actuated by vanity than the love of gain. Indeed, the majority understand very well that few will care to buy their productions—scarcely as many as would pay for the binding and ink, not to mention paper or printing. But “a book’s a book, although there’s nothing in it.” To be an author is a great thing, especially the author of a book of travels, in which one can puff his friends and give a bit of his mind about his enemies. What if so agreeable an amusement costs a few thousand dollars, including the privilege of sending an indefinite number of copies to dead-heads? It is a mere bagatelle in view of all the honour and renown which it is supposed to bring.

But we need hardly say that we do not rank the work before us among this class. Dr. Bellows is an experienced writer and an original thinker; and it is seldom, if ever, that any thing emanates from writers of this character which is not worth reading. Certainly, “The Old World in its New Face” does not form an exception. It is not our habit to indulge in superlatives in praise of any book, but we cannot say less, in general terms, of the present volume, than that it is entertaining and attractive. We have ourselves visited most of the cities from which Dr. Bellows’s letters are dated, and although we do not agree with him on all points, we cheerfully admit that even where, in our opinion, he errs most egregiously, he still succeeds in investing the topics he chooses with more or less interest. He is thoughtful and liberal; nor shall we fail to give him full credit, as we proceed, for his good intentions.

At the same time we shall take the liberty of noting certain little vanities and inconsistencies which strike us as somewhat amusing. They will, doubtless, be found useful, too, as affording some new illustrations of the fact that a doctor of divinity may sometimes blunder as much as mortals of the unsanctified herd like ourselves. Our readers are aware that some curious treatises have been written with the view of discovering what were the private views on religion and morality of certain great thinkers. Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Shakespeare have formed the subjects of many such, but the matter is still in doubt in each case. But no disquisition of the kind need be written on the author of the volume before us. The Rev. Dr. Bellows issues forth on his tour quite as fully labelled as the Knight of La Mancha or Sir Hudibras. The most careless reader is not permitted to lose sight of the fact, from the beginning to the end of the volume, that the author is the great American representative and exponent of “Liberal Christianity.” In this capacity, he passes judgment on all sects and denominations, and very much in the spirit of the honest currier in the fable of the town which was in danger of being besieged. The carpenter thought that oak would be just the thing to keep out the enemy; the mason argued, with some show of reason, that granite would be a

safer protection. "Gentlemen," said the currier, "you may do as you like; but if you wish to have the town well defended and put out of all danger, there is nothing like leather."

The great panacea of Dr. Bellows is "Liberal Christianity,"—that is, the Unitarian faith, as preached in New York. Every other system is good, bad, or indifferent, according as it approaches or diverges from this. Ordinary Protestantism is dead throughout Continental Europe; Popery is still more defunct, if it is possible for one death to be more complete than another. Accordingly, the only hope of Europe is in "Liberal Christianity." True, they have something similar in parts of Germany, but it is not the genuine article. The "liberal" ministers of Europe are very excellent people in their way; they mean well, doubtless, but they have much to learn before they can pretend to equal their American brethren. It seems that lately some of them have been reading the "Christian Examiner" very attentively. This is very well, the Doctor thinks, as far as it goes; but the study of that valuable periodical must become general among the brethren throughout Germany before they can be considered out of danger.

We do not mean that these are the words used by Dr. Bellows; but if his constantly recurring remarks on the subject do not mean this, we cannot pretend to say what they do mean. We shall, however, let our author speak for himself, in order that the reader may form his own opinion. But let us first hear him on more agreeable topics. Whenever Dr. Bellows dismounts from his hobby, and speaks as a traveller who has no mission to fulfil, he is generally accurate as well as fair and liberal in his views. His description of Paris is one of the best we have seen for some time. The following passage will serve as a specimen, and prove interesting at the same time:—

"Paris, over whose principal streets and parks we have been continually wandering since we arrived, is one great spectacle of architectural vastness, splendour, taste, and finish, where magnitude, costliness, arrangement, and effect combine to surprise and delight the eye. The city is laid out with scenic art. It seems the work of one mind, in which all the parts are subordinate to the whole, and every private interest or convenience is subservient to a public result. Whereas in England or America you feel that the public has what is left after private interests and convenience have all been satisfied, you feel here that the public helps itself *first*, and flings the crumbs to the private citizen. Paris, therefore, imperial and spectacular as it is, is to a wonderful extent cosmopolitan and universal, and, therefore, spite of emperor and police, popular and democratic. For what can be so enriching and satisfying to the humble and poor as the feeling that while they have little or no private property, they are actual shareholders in immense public wealth and conveniences and splendour, to the common use of which they are freely invited! When I saw a poor woman sitting on the grass in the Tuilleries, within stone's throw of the palace, with her day's work of sewing lying round her, and her baby playing near, apparently in full enjoyment of the public protection and of the beauty of the noble garden, I understood how despotism might be rendered very tolerable by an enlightened policy, and how France and Paris, with their glory and strength and beauty, stand in the place of private possessions to millions of her people. They walk and stroll in her boulevards and parks, gratified and dazzled with the variety

and elegance and charm that everywhere greets them, without those feelings of discontent which we might expect from not being able to appropriate more to strictly private use."—pp. 21, 22.

Our author is equally fair and just in his impressions of the common schools of Paris, although he is undoubtedly mistaken in the opinion that it is by rote the children are taught. As he makes some good suggestions, however, we extract a passage:—

"Anxious to see the common schools of Paris, I obtained, not without difficulty, a special permit, and visited one boys' and one girls' school. The boys' school contained only about sixty children, from six to fourteen years of age. Two Catholic priests had it in charge. It was in two rooms—with a large open shed attached, where nearly half the boys were seated in the open air, learning their lessons from monitors—who repeated, out of a religious book, certain sentences wholly beyond any suggestion of meaning to children of such tender age, but which they learned by rote. In the older class-room, the walls were hung with admirable illustrations of all weights and measures, and with provisions for object-teaching. The excellent French method of *dictation* was here in full operation. The teacher dictates a sentence of some length to the whole class, who write it out in their copy-books. Here is a combined exercise in attention, memory, spelling, grammar, writing, composition, and style."—pp. 51, 52.

The Doctor always does quite well until the question of religion comes up; then he is slightly bigoted in spite of his "Liberal Christianity." "Of religious education," he says, "there is a great show, and immense pains are taken by the priests to keep the paysans and common people in the love of the Church by *fêtes*, and by appeals to the senses through music, forms, and method" (p. 54). The Doctor forgot that there is a great show of religious education at home in New York also. In speaking of the music, he, doubtless, also forgot the opera singers employed in his own church, together with certain little habits and customs in regard to pews at the Church of All Souls. At all events, he treats Popery in Paris very gently; here he tells us nothing—at least, very little—of its demoralizing character. This part of the work he reserves until treating of poor communities—for nothing is easier than to find plausible reasons for the miseries of the oppressed and wretched; whereas, it would be self-contradictory to represent so enlightened and flourishing a capital as Paris as "crushed down under the iron heel of Popery." Our author is far too sagacious to commit such a blunder as this, and, accordingly, he pays the following tribute to the Sisters of Mercy:—

"A simple-hearted, sincere, and disinterested class they are; their faces marked by purity, self-control, and unworldliness. It was curious to see a party of six of these holy women, in their white, elephant-eared bonnets, examining the laces and jewelry of the Exposition, without cupidity or envy in their countenances, and as if satisfied with their own choice of an unworldly life, without being censorious to those who had chosen otherwise."—pp. 54, 55.

One would suppose that what produces such good results at Paris could not be very demoralizing in other parts of the world; but this, it seems, is a mistake. Thus, for example, Prague, the once flourishing

capital of Bohemia, is now proverbially poor, almost as much so as Warsaw, Dublin, or any other city that was once the seat of government, but is now under the dominion of a foreign power. Instead of having its own court, as it formerly had for many centuries, Prague is in the grasp of Austria; but this does not account for its present condition, according to Dr. Bellows. "A Catholicism," says our author, "more *intense*, more *universal*, more *superstitious*, and more *degrading* than is to be found in any part of Europe, holds the entire Christian population of Prague and Bohemia in its *smothering grasp*" (p. 411). Probably, the reason why the Parisians and the French in general are not also in a smothering condition is that they are too lively to submit to the process of Popish suffocation.

The Austrians, though not so far gone as the Bohemians, are in a melancholy plight, according to our author. "The next obstacle," he says, "to a true participation in the life of other great capitals, London, Paris, Berlin, New York, is the *shocking domination* of the Catholic hierarchy. Austria proper is almost a purely Catholic country" (p. 424). What wonder is it, then, that "it gropes in darkness and the shadow of death?" Yet Austria is not a whit more purely Catholic than France or Belgium. Under the head of "Popery rampant," we are told that "Roman Catholicism is not really alive (out of the Tyrol and a part of Bohemia), but its corpse *encumbers the whole ground*" (p. 425). "The priests hold the royal family in their grasp, and, through the emperor and the women of his house, largely control the policy of the government" (Ib.). Speaking of the archbishop, the Doctor says that he "is the only person who, day or night, has the privilege of entering unannounced the emperor's presence; and the people feel that this means only restraint and injustice for them" (p. 426).

Is it not a wonder they do not assassinate the archbishop, and cease to be such pure Catholics as they are? Why not try them with "liberal Christianity?" But we have not heard the worst yet. "They (that is, the people) dread, too, a back-stairs influence, exerted under ecclesiastical inspiration by the ladies of the court, even more than the influence on the emperor. They think measures often fail, after they have escaped all other opposition, from a final blow in the dark, dealt by a priest through a woman's sleeve" (Ib.).

We fear that some of this information reached the Doctor, if not through the imperial back-stairs, at least through some channel that was not very pure; otherwise he must have insinuated himself into the confidence of the people in a miraculous manner. He does not understand a word of their language; and it is to be presumed that they must be equally ignorant of his. Surely it would require more than two or three days, under such circumstances, to obtain accurate information of such vast importance, if some interpreting and far-seeing angel had not aided the Doctor in his researches.



The Jews fare little better than the Catholics at the hands of the representative of "liberal Christianity." He visited the synagogue at Berlin; there was a large congregation; a dozen officiating priests assisted in the service; the music was fine, &c. "But with a few exceptions, there was neither in the air of the priests, nor of the people, *any rapt attention or devout expression*. The whole thing seemed a pretty, heartless ceremonial; *the atmosphere was not worshipful*" (p. 349).

It is only in the churches dedicated to liberal Christianity—especially in All Souls' Church—that one can see this "rapt attention," and "devout expression," and breathe this "worshipful atmosphere." But, as already remarked, whenever the Doctor dismounts from his hobby he is communicative and interesting. "There are," he tells us, "twenty thousand Jews in Berlin, and they are far the richest portion of the community. They own the lots 'Unter den Linden,' and about the Thier-Garten. They are the millionaires, capitalists, bankers, and great merchants of the city" (p. 349). He might have told us that they are still more wealthy in Vienna and Paris;—also more highly respected, especially in the former city, where Rothschild has been ennobled and allowed to rank at the imperial court with the proudest of the Austrian nobility. But it was not necessary to leave the city of New York to find Jews who are "millionaires, capitalists, and great merchants." Would not B. L. Solomon & Sons, August Belmont, and several others we could mention, answer that description? and if our New York Jews have not lots "Unter den Linden," they have marble palaces shaded by as classic and beautiful a tree.

But there is one institution even in Vienna which has elicited the admiration of Dr. Bellows; we need hardly say we mean the theatre. "The Theatre," he says, "is an institution here of *incredible importance*. Many people seem to live in its heart" (p. 429). Nothing else makes so near an approach to "liberal churches." We are assured that the Court Theatre has "*a most refined and accomplished company*, who act, on the whole, better than any company I have ever seen" (Ib.). What a blessing it would be to have such a company in New York as an ally of liberal Christianity! There would be no need of building a new theatre for it; that parti-colored edifice at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twentieth Street would fully answer the purpose.

The Doctor is very much disgusted at the lack of perception evinced by Europeans, especially by Parisians. "Improved as our reputation is," he says, "the ignorance about us is still gross *and the indifference still more so*" (p. 45). Is not this too bad! But let us hear a little more. "They know," quoth the Doctor, "we are growing rich and powerful; but they have no notion of our *civilization, our superiority in substantial respects, &c., &c.*" (Ib.). There are exceptions, however; the liberal Christians know better, for they have learned pretty nearly all they know from us. Thus, for instance, one of the shining lights of Europe

is the great Schenkef; now let us see how he came by his superior knowledge.

"He knew Channing's and Parker's writings well, and *theirs only*. Parker he had personally seen. He had never heard of James Martineau, although he knew of the English 'Essays and Reviews.' On the whole, English theology had not interested him. It was a derivation from the German, not an original shoot. He looked with much livelier sympathy upon the American Liberal Church. *It was so practical and so loving*. There is no manner of justice done to our American thinking or scholarship among the savans in Europe" (p. 314).

If this were a fair specimen of American thinking, certainly we could hardly blame the European savans for not thinking very highly of it. But they are to be duly prepared to do justice to our merits as follows: "I hope my colleague, Mr. Allen," says our author, "will see to it that the *Christian Examiner* reaches some of these men" (p. 315). If Mr. Allen only does his duty in this respect, there will be no difficulty in future as to our being respected as thinkers. True, we may fail to make them read the *Examiner*, although that is scarcely possible. At all events, let everybody read the book before us; much of the gravest part of it is as amusing as a comedy. We shall look with considerable curiosity for the second volume.

*A Brief Sketch of the State of Europe during the Decade which terminated with the close of the late Prusso-Austrian War.* 16mo., pp. 192. By HENRY D. ANSLEY, A. M., of the Middle Temple. London, 1868.

THIS is an interesting volume, but rather undecided in its views. It is valuable chiefly for its suggestions; rather than depend on its arguments, however, we will take a brief glance at the causes, and at some of the results of the war.

That the Germanic Bund was only a rope of sand, had long been apparent to statesmen of sagacity; and it was instantly demonstrated when, at a word from Bismarck, chaos reigned throughout the German principalities. A more sudden and complete dispersion never occurred since that of the builders of Babel. The "holy alliance" was a conspiracy against the natural and normal order of the States and nationalities of Europe. Its compacts and treaties had no stronger or more binding sanctions than the "honour" which is said to exist amongst thieves and robbers. Those compacts, the product of force, must be maintained by force, or they must cease. Against this force were arrayed two forces; the natural tendency of peoples to resume those normal conditions of nationality and relation which the alliance had disturbed, as well as the more complex resistance which France must ever offer, to that pressure which the alliance mainly directed against the integrity of the French empire, as it existed under the first Napoleon. These reactionary forces were constant. The affection which a people feel for

their own country, if its population are truly homogeneous, is the very soul and essence of patriotism. A people may behold their land parcelled out among foreign powers, and they may be told by their rulers, and even by the ministers of their religion, that patriotism among them is allegiance and fidelity to their new masters; but their hearts, bereaved of home and country, will maintain fealty only to the country they have loved and lost, and will join in sympathy, if not in voice, with the pathetic lament of the Israelites in their Babylonish captivity.

The repressive force to which these constant reactions were opposed, could not, in the nature of things, forever remain equally constant. With Poland absorbed, and, as far as possible, digested, Russia no longer found it to her interest to maintain a hostile attitude towards France; but, in the interest of her ambition to extend her frontiers to the Bosphorus, would prefer to conciliate that power. Italy, restored to the nationality so long forfeited, necessarily disturbed the equilibrium of Europe. Spain, once a potential member of the alliance, had become to it an element of weakness. Great Britain, the most powerful member of the alliance, withdrew herself from European complications. Austria, the original instigator of the alliance, was barely able to preserve her own equipoise, harassed as she was by the old kingdom of Hungary on the one side, and the new kingdom of Italy on the other.

Here was Prussia's opportunity. Prussia, as to her integral force altogether Germanic, somewhat embarrassed by a Scandinavian element on her eastern border, which might be paralyzed by an accession of the Teutonic element, and prevented only from absorbing that element by the participation of Austria in the domination of the Bund, and by the want of a pretext for disturbing the peace of Europe. That pretext was not afforded; the only pretext for hostilities was furnished by Prussia herself; yet, while Austria armed, she would not strike the blow. The sagacious mind of Bismarck discerned at once that the scrupulous fidelity of Austria was a capital circumstance in favour of Prussia, if, herself casting scruples to the winds, she, secretly as it were, armed with her redoubtable *zundnadelgewehr*, would, with the spring of the tiger attack her foe, and by rapid movements interpose between Austria and her allies of the Bund.

The execution of the plan was as complete as its conception was sagacious; the power of the confederation vanished like a morning exhalation; and Austria, the inventor of the holy alliance, lay bleeding and prostrate under the assassin arm of her most trusted ally; fallen, like Lucifer, "never to hope again." The "short, sharp, and decisive" campaign of the summer of 1866 annihilated all that remained of the famous, or infamous, holy alliance. It did not restore Europe to her normal nationalities, but it powerfully aided in opening the way for that restoration. It was one chapter in the partly written, and partly unwritten book of European destiny. Those who care more to discuss traits of

personal character than traits of political tendency, may well exclaim against what they will pronounce dishonourable conduct in the Prussian minister, and will lay on his soul the crime of all the bloodshed of the sanguinary struggle; but Bismarck was only working out the manifest destiny of Central Europe; and, while we may not justify his disregard of conscience and honour, we must confess that, if the situation of German affairs indicated a forcible solution, the one which he furnished was efficacious to the utmost of possibility, and attended with as few of the calamities of war as any similar conflict in history.

Prussia has only given impetus to a tendency in Europe towards republicanism, which tendency her state policy may retard, but cannot arrest, and which alone prevents Europe from succumbing to the semi-barbaric, yet colossal power that towers in her northeastern horizon. No circumstance could, in the existing state of European affairs, have had a more determinate tendency to hasten the restoration of the ascendancy of normal nationalities in Europe, than the pronounced rejection of the conservative monarchical policy of which the holy alliance was the main prop and stay; and to which rejection, the kingdom of Prussia, herself most deeply interested in the maintenance of that policy, gave the most significant emphasis. This is not the aspect in which Bismarck viewed the problem, on whose solution he so boldly ventured, but it is the aspect it will assume in history; and Prussia may yet come to understand the significance of the Scripture proverb—"All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword"—of which Austria has furnished an illustration.

The solution of the European problem was susceptible of accomplishment by pacific methods, but for the unwise persistence of two opposite parties: one, those monarchists who determinedly oppose the tendency towards republicanism; and the other, those republican enthusiasts, who would hasten the consummation, which can only be happily assured by the slow but certain developments of time and opportunity. The policies of both these parties are futile. The healthy growth of liberal ideas and republican institutions will keep even pace with the increase and diffusion of knowledge and virtue among the industrial and rural populations of the Continent. Governments are maintained by arms, at least as the last resort; and whenever the individuals of which armies are composed are both virtuous and intelligent, there is developed in them an individuality of character which makes armies something more than the blind unreasoning masses, whom despots find so perfectly adapted to their purposes that they can calculate upon their political value, as players calculate the value of pawns upon a chess-board. The aggregate of these individuals constitute the State, whatever may be its form of government, and in them rests ultimately all the power of the State, wielded by them through the ballot it may be, or, if that is denied them, by the bullet, the last resort of peoples as well as of kings.

Progress towards a higher and better civilization is now the general law of European society. That this progress may be peaceful and beneficent in its every stage, it is needful that all the potentates of Europe should yield to it their cordial assent. Whatever government in Europe shall keep even pace with its invisible army of progress, marching in its van rather than straggling in its rear, will draw to itself allies in every part of the Continent, for the brotherhood of progress transcends the boundaries of States, and these allies will augment its power far beyond its necessities for self-defence, even though all the other powers of Europe were combined for its overthrow.

It would be happy for Europe, if all its sovereigns would with one consent concede every legitimate demand of the advancing spirit of liberalism; not every demand of closeted or rampant visionaries, of demagogues during the brief hour of their popularity, or of red-capped patriots affecting sansculottism; but the demands made by the common sense of the great masses, not usually made known through popular clamour or insurrectionary violence, but by signs quite as evident to the observant few whose especial duty it is to care for the public welfare.

A great people emerging from the imbecility concomitant with ignorance and servility, into a vigorous development and a liberal civilization, are like patients convalescing from illness; who are to be strengthened by tonics and nourished with wholesome aliment and exercise, not stimulated unduly and indulged in excesses, nor rendered innane by confinement and restraint. In every school there are classes, graduated according to the capacities and proficiency of the pupils; and this rule, whose wisdom, reason and experience have approved in the education of the young in years, reason and experience likewise attest as equally wise in application to the education of peoples in the great schools of national civilization.

Violent repressions and violent advances are equally fatal and futile in their results. The reactionary policy on which Prussia seems to be intent, can just now be maintained by the prestige of her late military triumphs, and may for a considerable time be carried forward by further demonstrations of martial force; but the sword of Mars is two-edged, and is often found to cut both ways, as Prussia will find in the sequel, if she presses her advantages too far. It were far better for all Europe if its government and people would have patience to deliberately untie the knot of their future destiny, and would not in their over eager haste attempt to sever it with the sword. It is not every trifling ailment that demands the surgeon's knife or the physician's bolus. A nation may be trusted to outgrow its petty grievances which are mostly transient, and are less to be deplored than the violent measures of those who would make haste to redress them.

The wise physician will often trust the recovery of his patient to the *vis medicatrix nature*, rather than deplete him with the lancet and de-

puratory potions; and the minor disorders of a State are often best rectified by the remedial agencies that wait on time and opportunity. Actual canterbury and cannon are remedies that should be reserved for those desperate emergencies where fatal issues are imminent. The rash facility with which resort is had to wars and insurrections, for comparatively trivial causes, finds its only parallel in the frivolous pretexts of the duellist, scarcely exaggerated by the fantastic imagination of Shakespeare's Touchstone.

Russia, though less advanced in civilization than most of the other countries of Europe, nevertheless affords an example worthy of their emulation. The Czar, actuated by an enlightened affection for his subjects, which is the true inspiration of wise statesmanship, is steadily carrying forward a graduated system of efficient measures for the enfranchisement and civilization of the whole body of the people throughout his vast empire, and is thus earning a better title to be styled "*Alexander the Great*," than the Macedonian who spread devastation and havoc from the sands of Libya to the banks of the Indus.

The institutions that are taking shape will be far more permanent if time is allowed for their cement to indurate. The forces that govern the world in this age are moral forces, and not the *brutum fulmen* of war. The true policy of the States of Europe is no longer one of aggression, but of self-augmentation. They must grow great, not by accretion but by incretion; not by what they acquire from without, but by what they develop from within. Among States and peoples that are equals, whatever one acquires from without, except by mutual exchanges, is robbery, and violates that great law of perfect reciprocity, on the obedience of which the tranquillity of international relations is dependent.

The victories of peace—not of war—are now the chief glory of States and empires. Formerly, palaces were for kings and conquerors, but now palaces are built in honour of *labour*, and to them crowned monarchs and their illustrious retainers resort to pay their homage. Our expositions of the arts and industries of the world, are so many acknowledgments that the truest virtue is that which achieves somewhat for the good of mankind. The practical solution of those grand problems in physics and in natural science, on which man's most perfect development depends, is to be found in the atelier of the artisan and in the fields of the agriculturist. Man, in his highest condition of civilization, mingles the philosophy of natural agencies with the actual demonstrations of muscular force; his spiritual and physical powers consentaneously unite their forces for the accomplishment of common purposes, and conformably to the normal laws of his physical and moral health; and thus each individual becomes, in all essential particulars, a perfect type of manhood, and labour, thus defined, is the noblest and most ennobling occupation of a human being. In our present stage of civilization, we are generally, as individuals, developed only partially, one man exerts

ing his brain, another his muscles, few labouring with both, uniformly and harmoniously.

The labouring intellect despises the labouring hands, and the man who performs no labour, often despises both, and yet this idler is sometimes called a nobleman. Even this ignoble nobility, of indolence as it would seem, is yet a creature of labour. The idle noble of to-day, is the child of an ancestor who ennobled himself by somewhat that he achieved with much labour and puissant valour; and so supererogatory was the merit of his grand labours, that they, monumentally, ennoble even his unworthy offspring.

Among the people of a nation who are all of one race, a despotic government may be maintained for an almost indefinite length of time, secure from internal convulsions, and under such a government there may exist a large degree of personal liberty; for, amidst the quietude which pervades such a nation, customs become indurated into laws, of such binding efficacy, that the ruler is almost as much constrained by them as are his subjects; and in such a nation a civilization *sui generis* will become developed in considerable beauty and harmony. The Chinese empire is an example of the truth of this proposition. It is far otherwise with a State whose population, made up of different nationalities, wants the important element of homogeneousness. The government of such a State must be either military or republican. The holy alliance is largely responsible for that condition of affairs in Europe which makes one of these forms of government a necessity in nearly every portion of the Continent.

*No readjustment of the map of Europe will be permanent that is not subordinated to the interests and wishes of the peoples.* The day is past when the interests of individual rulers and dynasties can long maintain an ascendant over those of the governed masses. The tendency of the nationalities to resolve themselves into homogeneous masses is constantly gaining momentum. The restoration of the unity of Italy demonstrates that in one instance this tendency has produced a positive result. Shall Germany be the next example of national regeneration? And if so, shall not Hungary and Poland reassert their nationality?

Austria, an empire made up of four principal elements, the German, Croatian, Sclavic, and Magyar, whenever it loses its martial power, loses its ability to retain these incongruous elements in combination. Is not even the restoration of Grecian nationality among the future possibilities of Europe? When we have seen the small kingdom of Sardinia extend its dominion over the entire Italian peninsula, we have no good reason for denying the possibility that Greece and Spain may re-enact the parts they formerly played in the grand drama of European history.

One of the strongest tendencies of the present era in Europe, is to the advancement of her civilization, by the cultivation of those arts and

sciences which flourish only amidst general peace and tranquillity. The only cloud that threatens to disturb the peace of Europe is the Eastern question. Great Britain, whose present policy is pacific, and as to Continental questions, is as insular as is her geographical position, has impressed the policy of Europe with a principle which lies at the foundation of this momentous question; and that is the principle of maritime repression. Both her interest and her duty demand that she should lend the full weight of her influence to eliminate this disturbing element from the code of national law. The development of the immense agricultural and industrial resources of the Russian empire is pretermitted by the want of convenient and ample access to the great oceanic highways of commerce. If this access is much longer denied to Russia, she will obtain it by force. While Great Britain was the dominant maritime power of the world, it was fitting to her general policy that she should hold in check the gigantic power of the autocrat by limiting his maritime strength; but "Britannia rules the waves" no longer; and not only has her career of conquest reached its limit, her immense Indian dependencies are threatened. The retention of her sway in India, Australia, the Pacific Islands, and America, may well tax even her enormous power to the utmost that she can exert it beyond the bounds of the British Islands, where domestic troubles disquiet her. It is true that Ireland is weak, yet so was the little fox which the Spartan boy held beneath his tunic.

Every circumstance at home and abroad admonishes Great Britain of the necessity she is under of adhering to the pacific policy by which she professes to be governed. Let the law of nations be amended in the manner urged by the United States, by exempting peaceful commerce from the contingencies of war; make the Bosphorus and the Baltic as free as the Atlantic to the commerce of all nations; and the Eastern question will no longer disturb and perplex the diplomats of Europe. Russia does not want territory; she only wants commercial facilities, and *she will have them*. The day is not distant when the naval powers that dominate the Pacific Ocean will command an equal moiety of the commerce of the world, and their naval strength will be equal to that of the maritime powers of the Atlantic. The distance from the Amoor river to Australia and India and New Zealand, is not so great as from the British channel; nor should the recent capture of Bokara be overlooked. British statesmen of sagacity, considering these facts, with others that might be enumerated, should not be long in deciding whether it were best to play the part of a friend or that of an enemy to Russia.

The peace of Europe, which its inhabitants so earnestly desire, may be preserved, and with it prosperity and tranquillity, and gradual, yet steady, advancement in those political ameliorations which will make its States and peoples prosperous and happy; but persistence in forcible repression of civil liberty, and in the reactionary policy of her absolutists,



will inevitably precipitate revolutions that will overturn, one after another, every monarchy in the whole Continent.

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INSURANCE.

1. *New Charters of Insurance Companies and other Documents.*
2. *Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department—Fire and Marine.*

WE shall not say much these warm days on so exciting a subject as insurance; we prefer to advise both the insurers and the insured to keep as cool as they can for the next six weeks or so. Especially would we urge this on the "Insurance Press," which ought to be pretty wearied of fighting by this time. Doubtless they find their account in calling each other thieves, pirates, black-mailers, fugitives from justice, ignoramuses, &c., &c. Certainly, it is more profitable for their employers to pay them for making sport for them in this manner, than for getting up puffs that turn the laugh on the other side.

It is rather a humiliating kind of business for honest people to fight for the amusement of others; but it has the advantage of being very ancient, if not time-honoured. Did not the Roman gladiators not only attack each other with the greatest ferocity for money, but also attack wild beasts in the arena? Do not the Spanish bull-fighters pursue the same *métier* at the present day? It is true that we may seem to have a selfish object in showing thus that the system is classical, since as long as the insurance journals are abusing each other so fiercely as they have been for the last two or three months, they can hardly find time to abuse us. Be this as it may, we prefer to see them at peace with each other; and with this philanthropic view we beg leave remind them that it is only the lower breeds even of the canine species that tear each other for a bone; in proof that the educated spaniel, setter, or pointer never does so, we refer to Buffon, who, it will be admitted, is a good authority on Assurance as well as on the habits and customs of ferocious animals.

We also beg leave to remind all concerned, that it is not those who fight most desperately for the bone, that always get it. It sometimes happens that another animal, who has exposed himself to no danger, sneaks up to the scene of conflict, and carries off the prize in triumph. Has nothing of this kind occurred lately? Let the quack champions please look around them and see whether they have any new allies. You know, gentlemen, how many handsome jobs we have put in your way during the last seven years; if you are honest you will admit that you have got more ten-dollar checks and larger plates of oysters for abusing the National Review and its editor, than for any other outside work whatever. This was all very well, perhaps; we do not grudge you all you have made by us; indeed, we prefer that you should have the money

rather than the quacks and sharpers who employ you. But you were unwise in boasting of it.

A certain journal that died once of inanition, but has been brought to life again in a somewhat miraculous manner, took the hint, and also tried its hand on the *National Review*, showing how impudent and stupid it is in meddling with subjects so far beyond its ken, as Insurance, Martin Luther, Impeachment, &c., but especially Insurance. This did very well for the time,—the hat was let round before and after the work was done, and a few greenbacks were thrown into it; but we fear not sufficient to make the thing pay as a whole. For our own part we wish to deal very gently with those who rise from the dead, for such are apt to be consumptive at best. We are willing to admit that what they say should be listened to with great attention, although it be as dull and pointless as what they said before their death. Who, for example, does not mark every sepulchral word uttered by the Ghost in *Hamlet*? The Royal Dane was a very common-place personage, before he descended to Hades; but once risen from the dead, he is a hero. All his faculties are improved; he has even learned several languages while in his grave!

When the hat alluded to was let round the second or third time, certain objections were made, even by the quacks, which may be condensed as follows:—"We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Sellula, for attacking the *National Review*; we are willing to pay you for that; but we cannot patronize you as a regular thing." Being pressed for the reason, the interlocutor proceeds to say:—"Well, to tell you the truth, we consider your Sellula too dull." Mr. Sellula gets offended, and gives the insurer a bit of his mind. "There's no use in mincing the matter," retorted the latter; "to pay a donkey for braying at a lion will never do."

Mr. Sellula hesitated a little, as if struck by a new thought. "Well, you say that none read the Sellula but overgrown boys learning composition and ambitious to become authors; and I must admit myself that we have to depend a good deal on that class." "Yes," interrupted another, "and you depend a good deal, also, on your wholesale puffery of the publishers. Now, these long-winded puffs are very good things, perhaps, for the owners of the books; but how many others ever read them?" "Then suppose," says Mr. Sellula, "that we *compile* a paper?" "What do you mean? I never thought yours any thing else but a compilation." "But supposing we get up a paper, consisting exclusively of articles taken from other papers, and duly acknowledged as such?" "Certainly, if you collect the brilliant, pointed, sensible articles of our principal daily and weekly papers, and insert them without a word of your own, you will have twenty times as many readers as you have for the Sellula; but rather few, after all, for not many like to buy second-hand goods, of that kind, especially when the new article is so cheap." The manuscript of our correspondent becomes illegible here, and so we cannot say what was the final agreement between the quacks and their new champion. We trust, at

all events, that an arrangement was made which will prevent a second death, at least for some time.

Now, far be it from us to advise the insurance journals to be so hard-hearted as not to be concerned for the untimely demise of a fellow-creature. All we ask them to do is to cease fighting among themselves; then they will lose fewer bones, and have time to treat outsiders, like ourselves, as they deserve. It might be the wisest way, for the *Sellula* also, to mind its own Insurance or Assurance business, and allow other journals to mind theirs; still if it has a taste for that sort of work, we are satisfied. We are even willing to put it on the way of making quite a handsome affair by its lucubrations against us. We presume that Morgan, of the North American Life, has already contributed towards the good cause. But has Eadie, of the United States Life, put any thing into the hat? Has Batterson been applied to? or Guy Phelps? What of the Sun Mutual and its "scrip" dividends? Since the Metropolitan reduced its capital, refusing to enter the grave yet a while, it has learned to appreciate even an awkward, pointless onslaught on those who are inconveniently curious about its "assets."

We might add quite a number of similar insurers; indeed, there is scarcely an insurer in the United States whose policy is of questionable value, who would not give at least ten dollars for more or less abuse of the *National Review*.

Then, again, there are insurers of a different class who, we are sure, would contribute ten, or even twenty dollars a piece, rather than allow any journal that has ever published three articles of any kind on Life Insurance to die of inanition. As a proof that, instead of being vindictive, or wishing to return evil for evil, we are disposed to do even our enemies a good turn, we will mention some of this class also, and at the same time take occasion to show, as far as the facts are within our reach, how well they can afford to be philanthropic and charitable.

Take the Knickerbocker Life, for example, to begin with. There is no journal published in New York which may be called "literary," even by the greatest stretch of courtesy, which Mr. Lyman would see give up the ghost for \$50. And what are his means? The best answer to this is to be found in the fact that during the year which closed June 1, 1868, his company issued twelve thousand (12,000) policies, insuring \$42,000,000, and that it issued more policies during the last month of the year than any other month, namely, fourteen hundred (1,400), insuring nearly \$5,000,000.

We do not know how many the Equitable, the Manhattan, or the National, has issued since our last report, but we are sure that each has done good work, and equally sure that the officers of each are sufficiently imbued with the benevolent spirit of their profession to contribute more or less to keep away death, without examining too curiously into the quality of the article which they are called upon to save.

Nor would we have journalists struggling for existence, fail to state their case to the officers of the Continental Life, and the Security Life. The former is only two years in existence; but it has issued seven thousand eight hundred (7,800) policies, insuring \$22,000,000. One of the reasons of this remarkable success is, that the company pays its losses promptly, generally before the time allowed by law, or by the conditions of the policy; another is that its agents are "picked men" in their calling.

But we have no Life company that can better afford to give a contribution for a charitable object than the Security, for like its Fire namesake to which we shall have occasion to refer before we close, it is worthy of its name. It has now an income of nearly a million a year (\$900,000), and its assets amount to a million and a half (\$1,500,000).

If the *Sellula* cannot secure its life among all these companies, then it might try Boston and Hartford. The New England Mutual, the *Ætna*,\* the Phoenix, and the Charter Oak, are each staunch friends of literature, and each can well afford to contribute. The journal that any of the four would insure need have no fear of death, at least for some years, let it be ever so bombastic—no matter how stale may be its platitudes.

It is true they do not insure consumptives—only those who are sound, at least to all appearance. But none are more charitable, however; none would give a donation more readily; and will not this do? Medicine can be got for money any day; and we have no doubt that Dr. Phelps would give a whole basket of his famous "tomato pills" for a puff of about a column. Then, if all fails, Batterson has the tombstones ready-made; all that need be added is the epitaph.

We are quite aware it may be said that we, probably, know all this from our own experience; but be it remembered that we have never died, and, consequently, never risen from the dead. When we give up the ghost once, we do not intend to haunt our friends; we mean that it shall not be necessary to write our epitaph a second time.

Speaking of epitaphs, reminds us of the somewhat remarkable fact that the Provident Life and Investment Company, of Chicago, "still lives;" nay, the more epitaphs written upon it the better it seems to thrive! According to Batterson & Co., it was dead nearly a year ago; but we have good reason to believe that it has more vitality at this moment than either the Travellers or the Railway Passengers; nay, than both together. Four Chicago papers now before us, namely, the Tribune, the Republican, the Times, and the Insurance Chronicle, bear emphatic testimony to its honesty and reliability, and show that "it has fully vindicated itself from the charges made against it by interested and somewhat unprincipled parties."

\* The *Ætna* Live Stock Insurance Company is destined to prove another great institution. The fact that the officers of the *Ætna* Life have identified themselves with it, has given it a prestige at once; and caused thousands to have their favourite horses insured in it. Nothing but want of time has prevented ourselves from securing its policy for our trusty Kestonian, "Beppo."

We have been at the pains of examining the facts of the case, from time to time, with the view of showing that those who are tricky in their dealings themselves, are very apt to charge their rivals in business with being tricky also. Our readers will remember that if the representations of Batterson & Co. had been accepted, nobody would have taken a policy from the Provident Life.

Now, is this honest or respectable? In our opinion it is the reverse. And, if we practise differently from what we preach, when have we attacked any Quarterly Review? Have we ever abused the North American Review, or said a disrespectful word of it? Nay, when have we attacked any journal or journalist whatever, except in self-defence? There is room enough for us all; and we hold that no one profits in the long run by vilifying his rivals.

Although we have the valuable and interesting Fire and Marine Report of Superintendent Barnes before us, we can do little more than allude to it in our present number; we shall have to be still briefer, and more desultory, than we have been in our observations on Life Insurance; but we promise our readers that we shall examine both departments searchingly in our September number. By that time all the Life Annual Reports of State Superintendents and Commissioners will have been issued; and with the large increase of Insurance Companies—new corporations starting into existence almost weekly—they can hardly fail to contain facts and statistics interesting to all; and it is not unlikely that they will make disclosures which ought to put the public on its guard against the new insurers—especially the new Life insurers, who make such extraordinary promises.

We might easily fill many pages now with facts which might well be regarded as startling; but we wish to obtain all the information we can, and finally subject that information to a careful test, lest we might make statements calculated to injure honest men. Had we not been thus careful for the last seven years, we could not have criticised so freely as we have, and yet defied those most anxious to silence us, from pointing out a single misrepresentation in our pages.

Mr. Barnes not only gives us a large amount of valuable statistics in the Report before us; he also makes some suggestions which both insurers and insured would do well to remember. This is true for example of the following remarks:—

“The actuarial work of collecting and arranging the statistics of fires in all sections of this country, and adjusting a net rate of premium adequate to provide a fund to meet the losses, is not the only object of these investigations; an analytic and scientific inquiry should be made, not only as to the actual historic facts, but as to their physical and moral causes. Take the single case of spontaneous combustion—how many agents and policy-holders have the requisite knowledge to prevent and avoid fires of this nature? The inventive genius and multiplied resources of modern times are vastly increasing also, the number of incendiary articles; coal oils in all their varied forms, nitro-glycerine and other new articles of commerce demand constant study, care and watchfulness. Many

fires are doubtless caused by a violation of the plainest principles governing the storage and use of these articles, and it may be questioned whether it is not much cheaper for the companies to collect and disseminate information on these subjects than simply to charge excessive premiums in order to pay excessive losses."

No intelligent person will deny this. Our fire-companies are entirely too careless—not to say thoughtless. The truth is, that the majority have not much information themselves; and what people do not possess they cannot disseminate. Underwriters who are intelligent and thoughtful are sure to succeed in time even when it happens that they have sustained more losses than their neighbours. We may give an illustration or two of this before we close; but we will first give our readers some of the results of the State Superintendent's researches:—

"The fearful crime of arson seems to be increasing, and the practical underwriter should scan the moral hazards in this direction with an omniscient ken. Many difficulties ordinarily obstruct the complete discovery and proof of incendiary fires, whether originating with the owner or other persons, and it may become necessary to allow a Fire Marshal or other officer, as in San Francisco, *to take entire possession of any building discovered to be on fire, and thus preserve any evidences of guilt which might otherwise be destroyed.* If our losses continue to increase so alarmingly, a joint commission of inquiry on the part of the State, and of the State Board of Underwriters might subserve the public interests in the premises.

"It is said that the ancient punishment of incendiaries was death by fire, thus visiting on them a fate which their crime might inflict upon others."

The suggestion we have marked in italics is worthy of attention. San Francisco is by no means the only city in which this precaution is adopted; exactly the same course is pursued in several of the German states. But nowhere is some such protection more necessary than in New York. It is notorious, also, that in no other great city are incendiaries treated more leniently; even when convicted they are generally let loose on society again before they have served half the time for which they have been sentenced. But others are sometimes to blame as well as incendiaries, judges, and governors.

"Complaint has been made to the Superintendent that some companies *unfairly reduce their liabilities* under the item of re-insurance, *by stating the net* instead of the actual gross amount of premiums received on outstanding risks. The re-insurance fund for unexpired fire risks being fixed at one-half the premiums received thereon, a diminution of such premiums of course reduces liabilities, and may result in showing a fictitious surplus; it seems to be a work of supererogation to state that any reduction from the gross amount of premiums for brokerage, commissions or any other expense, is not allowed under the blank form for Annual Statements, and is *a plain and palpable misrepresentation of the actual facts.* Such an evasion also creates a necessity for another misrepresentation; the actual expenditures are misreported by excluding the amount paid for commissions and other expenses; thus culpably diminishing the ratio of expenses to income. All such *subterfuges* are unworthy of the business, and if heretofore practised, should be discontinued voluntarily in advance of any compulsory measures for their suppression."

If our readers will only exercise their memory a little, they will be

able to divine some of the parties here alluded to. No wonder that capitals have to be reduced sometimes, and that "scrip" has to be declared worthless in order to avoid the grave, although it would be much more honourable to die in such cases than to continue to drag out a sickly existence.

In the present Report we have an unusual variety of valuable tables. Evidently prepared with great care, they are interesting to all who take an interest in the progress of society, its fluctuations, and its tendencies. The Superintendent refers to them with just pride, and adds some suggestions which honest underwriters will do well to reflect upon.

"The preceding pages contain the most extensive and reliable statistics of the business of Fire Insurance Underwriting ever published in this country. The grand aggregate of \$244,351,820.00 in Premiums and \$148,639,831.11 in Losses, shows a percentage of Loss to Premium of 60.83 per cent. This ratio, however, is not so large as the facts require; inasmuch as in cases of failures and receiverships, the Premium income ceases and outstanding Losses are often liquidated from Capital; and no statements of such companies have ever been required to be filed in this Department by Receivers, prior to the Act of 1867. (*Chap. 709.*) With Premiums adjusted as in the past, the law of average Loss demonstrated by experience, is evidently about *sixty-one* per cent. of Premium received.

"In Great Britain, thirty per cent. is not considered as an excessive ratio for the total management expenses of a Fire Insurance Office. This assumption would leave our American Companies only *nine per cent. of Premium for profits, and reserve funds*, which margin is subject to reduction also by enhanced expenses and increased taxation during and since the war. The stubborn facts which these figures record, clearly demonstrate that the present rates of Fire Premium may be adjusted, but not reduced, and that then by a rigid economy of management only, and the adoption of such a system of legislation and Fire Insurance practice, as will check the occurrence of so many fires, can a large profit be hereafter realized by the underwriter. The social economist and patriot must deeply mourn the fearful destruction of national wealth and resources which our Fire losses now entail upon the country. The realized profits of the underwriter are not lost to the nation; and this profit can be obtained the most readily by the efficient performance of the patriotic duty of preventing as well as extinguishing fires."

It will be borne in mind that more than once we took the liberty of making some comments on the management, or rather mismanagement, of the Pacific Mutual, by its late President. The gentleman was finally allowed to retire, and it seems the company has been doing tolerably well since. What we intimated two or three years ago is thus confirmed in the report of the Superintendent:—

"The Pacific Mutual has a surplus of \$119,352.66 above its Scrip Capital of \$706,635. This surplus would have been increased considerably *but for serious losses*, during the year, on investments, resulting from loans to its former President on *insufficient or speculative collaterals*. If loans are ever allowed to be made to the officers or directors of a company, such loans should be scrutinized by the finance committee or auditor with extraordinary care and vigilance. Easy facilities for borrowing corporate money may tempt the custodians of trust funds to make loans to themselves for the purposes of stock speculation, the fruits of which, if successful, will be grasped by the individual, and any heavy losses may be turned over to the corporation, through the medium of a *badly-secured stock loan*" (p. 45).

It is but fair to say, however, that the ex-president of the Pacific was by no means alone in this sort of business; there are many other presidents and vice-presidents who set much more value on what they make in this way than on their salaries. But we have remarked that intelligent, honest, and energetic underwriters, generally triumph over the most serious difficulties, whilst those of a different character either fail altogether, or damage their reputations so much that failure ought to be a relief to them. We have often spoken in these pages of the substantial good done by the Mercantile Mutual (Marine), while some of its Wall Street neighbours occupied themselves in boasting of their immense "scrip," or delivering foolish speeches at political meetings. Last year the Mercantile Mutual met with unusual losses; but that it met those losses characteristically, will sufficiently appear from the following extract from Mr. Barnes' Report:

"The Losses of the Company paid in 1867, were \$903,783.83, against cash premiums of only \$981,179.71. In order to *strengthen the position of the Company* and to put its affairs in a safe and responsible condition for prosperous business, the Directors on the 7th day of February last, obtained a subscription of \$300,000 in security notes, (not negotiable for Premiums on other debts due to the Company,) for which seven per cent. per annum commission is payable to the makers, and the dividends on Capital stock are limited to seven per cent. per annum, so long as these notes remain with the Company and until the accumulated profits and earnings shall be sufficient to replace the said security notes. The subscribers to the security notes, are to be properly represented in the Board of Directors and on the Finance Committee" (p. 44).

In this record we have another agreeable proof that honesty is the best policy. We hope others will profit by it. The Sun Mutual, it seems, is on the stool of repentance; it will not swagger any longer, nor issue spurious scrip, but be a "conservative," respectable corporation. Mr. Barnes inform us how it is to mend its reputation:—

"Instead of marking-off *pro rata* up to the time when a vessel has been last spoken or reported in safety, the conservative principle has been adopted of reserving the whole premium until the risk has been actually terminated by the expiration of the period for which the same was written."

It is nearly time that it should not begin to count its chickens until they are hatched. But let us turn to those who have a brighter record, and are neither boasters nor brawlers—much less, insolent or overbearing.

The Security Insurance Company shows by its statement (June 1st) the goodly aggregate of \$1,565,927.14, assets; proving that, so far this year, prosperity has waited upon the untiring efforts of the company's officers. We happen to know, moreover, that it has made nearly \$850,000, during the past twelve months, which circumstance, added to the immense improvements made by the new administration, certainly will render unnecessary any further endorsement from us as to the solvency and prudent management of this company under its new régime. We



have compared the Security Life to the Security Fire; now we compare the latter to the former, feeling that one is as solid and benevolent an institution as the other.

It seems that neither Mr. Barnes nor any other commentator deems it necessary to make any explanatory remark when speaking of the "unsatisfactory condition" of the Washington Insurance Company. Everybody appears to understand perfectly, that when any equivocal epithets are used, the flourishing institution at the corner of Broadway and Maiden Lane is not alluded to; and so secure does the company itself feel in its reputation, that it takes no notice of what may be said of those who have done violence to the good name which it so worthily bears.

We are glad to see that the Superintendent bears testimony to the soundness and integrity of the Hope Fire. Last year it sustained heavy losses, but it met them manfully; and we predicted at the time that the public would appreciate it accordingly. But we will allow Mr. Barnes to speak of one other Fire company:—

"The premiums of the *Ætna*, of Hartford, nearly equal those of the great consolidated English company, the Liverpool, London, and Globe, and exceed the premiums of the *Royal Insurance Company* by more than \$1,000,000."

Well may that little Yankee city be proud; for it is not one great *Ætna* it can boast. It has two Phoenixes, and two Charter Oaks. But although comparisons are not always agreeable, we, whose business it is to review and state facts, may say that there is but one genuine *Phoenix* and one genuine *Charter Oak* at Hartford; and that neither has any thing to do with any other fire than that which good old Prometheus brought down from Heaven.

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- ART. I.—1. *De Revolutionibus Corporum Caelestium*. NIC. COPERNICI : Berlin.  
2. *Vita Copernici*. GASSENDI : Paris.  
3. *Éloge de Copernic*. F. ARAGO : Paris.  
4. *Copernicus and his Native Country*. SZYMA : London.  
5. *Cosmos. A Description of the Universe*, Vol. ii. HUMBOLDT.

It is but seldom that mankind bestows its highest praise on those who deserve it most. There is a favouritism even among the votaries of science which is not always either logical or just; they, too, are frequently influenced as much by prejudice as by merit. Some give the preference to a great thinker for no better reason than that he is their own countryman; and the same feeling prompts them to disparage the claims of one who is not their countryman. Others prefer one because his opinions or his faith accords with their own; or they condemn him if his opinions or his faith be adverse to their own.

This would seem incredible at first sight even to those who practise it most; they would be very unwilling to believe that they are so puerile and thoughtless. But on reflection the fact cannot be disputed. Thus, for example, there are none of our readers who are not aware that those whose vernacular is the English, regard Bacon as superior to any other philosopher of modern times, Newton to any astronomer, and Shakespeare to any poet. The French, the Germans, and the

Italians have similar predilections and prejudices, and they form their preferences accordingly.

It is true that in proportion as a nation is intelligent and enlightened, it is liberal and cosmopolitan; but no nation possesses so much intelligence and enlightenment, but that its masses are partial to the claims of their own countrymen. Still more partial are they in circumstances in which partisan politics interfere; but their partiality or prejudice attains its climax when influenced by religion.

Nor is it merely the vulgar whose judgment is thus warped; indeed, there are very few so intelligent and thoughtful as to be entirely free from all these prejudices. And if these few oppose the prevailing sentiment, they are regarded at best as visionaries or pedants. The timid shrink from this; and thus it is that error and injustice are propagated, not only from year to year, but from century to century.

Had mankind been capable of exercising an unbiased judgment as to the respective claims of its great thinkers, Copernicus would undoubtedly have occupied the highest rank among modern astronomers and discoverers. But all the circumstances by which he was surrounded were adverse to his fame. He was a native of Poland,\* and the fate of his country was sealed while he was engaged on his great work; at the same time the Reformation had made considerable progress throughout Europe; and no dogma was more persistently or more zealously maintained by the Reformers, than that the old Church was inimical to science. That an obscure priest should be the founder of a system of astronomy which no modern had hitherto thought of, was very inconsistent with this theory, especially in view of the fact that the priest was so poor that he could not have published his great discovery had he not been aided and encouraged by dignitaries of the Church, and that he was permitted to dedicate his work to the Pope.

At this time science was more cultivated in Germany than in any other country in Europe, and the mathematicians

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\* "C'est donc à tort que le roi de Bavière," says M. Hoefer, "l'a fait ranger parmi les illustrations allemandes dans le Temple de Walhalla: Kopernik est Polonais et de nom et de naissance." *Nouvelle Biog. Gen.*, t. xxviii., p. 59.

were very unwilling to admit before the world that after all a "popish priest" could teach them the noblest of the sciences. As England borrowed her new ideas of religion from Germany, so she also borrowed her new ideas of astronomy from the same country. This will account, at least in part, for the opposition which even the learned, as we shall presently see, gave the new system.

It could not long be opposed, however; but as mathematician after mathematician, and university after university, felt constrained to accept it, their acceptance was accompanied, in nine cases out of ten, with some pretension calculated to diminish the glory of its discoverer. But historians and biographers soon found that by pursuing this course they injured themselves; accordingly, it was resolved, nearly half a century after the death of Copernicus, that in future his sacerdotal character should be kept in the background as much as possible. This had the desired effect to an incredible extent, and it serves to explain how it is that in most French, Italian, and Spanish histories the great astronomer is spoken of as Father Copernicus; whereas he is spoken of in all English works simply as Nicholas Copernicus; or if the fact of his being a priest is referred to at all, the allusion is generally accompanied with some remark which is in accordance with the theory that the teachings of Popery are incompatible with the development of science.

Thus it is that we meet very intelligent Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, who have no idea of the fact that the modern founder of the great system of the universe now universally accepted, was a poor country priest, who, ardently as he loved the sublime science of the heavens, never permitted it to interfere in the least with his duties to his parishioners.

These general remarks may suggest to the reader who is not entirely familiar with the labours of Copernicus, that it may not be uninteresting to accompany us in the sketch we are about to give of the life and works of the illustrious founder of the heliocentric system. Be this as it may, we can assure those who do accompany us, that if we err in forming our estimate it will not be from any prejudice or which we are conscious; nor shall we err from any unwilling-

ness to search for the facts wherever they are to be found. But first, it is proper that we should give a brief outline of the early life of the great astronomer.

Nicholas Copernicus \* was born at Thorn, in Poland, February 12, 1473. Much has been written on the subject of his ancestry; some maintaining that he descended from a noble family, while others have contended that his father had been a serf. It is not of much importance which is the true story; but the dispute is now settled. Some family documents recently discovered prove beyond question that the mother of the astronomer was Barbel Wasselrode, the eldest sister of the Bishop of Ermeland, and that his father was a surgeon and the son of a respectable citizen of Cracow.

The parents of Copernicus were, however, poor; but his uncle, the bishop, took care to secure him a first-class education. Some wonderful stories are told about his precocious intelligence and wisdom. All we are informed on this point by the respectable historians of the time, is, that he made excellent proficiency at a neighboring academy, that he completed his classical studies at the college of Thorn, and entered the university of Cracow at the age of eighteen.

We may remark, in passing, that the works of Copernicus show that his classical studies were not merely nominal, for the former are written in good Latin, and many of the author's notes are in Greek; they also prove that Copernicus was familiarly acquainted with all the great thinkers of Greece and Rome whose writings were extant in his time. It is not strange, then, to find the future discoverer studying philosophy and medicine at the university in his eighteenth year; and that in due time he obtains his diploma as Doctor. His uncle did not content himself with merely placing him in the best university in Poland; he secured for him the tuition of Albert Brudenski, a professor who had already a European fame as a mathematician. The lessons of this professor inspired him with a passion for the sciences. At the same time he devoted much attention to perspective; this prompted him to learn painting, in which, some of his biographers tell us, he excelled.

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\* Vernacular *Kopernik*.

The bishop was much gratified with the progress he made, but believing that he only wanted opportunities to make still greater progress, he sent him to Italy, in order that he might have the benefit of the universities of Padua and Bologna, which ranked then amongst the first in Europe. In each of these institutions his name is recorded as a Pole. How well he availed himself of the advantages offered by them, is sufficiently proved by the fact that two years after his leaving home (1499), he was engaged at Rome as professor of mathematics, where he had students from almost every country in Europe.

If his object had been fame, he had now the most favourable opportunities of obtaining it; indeed, he had already become famous as a mathematician throughout Italy; and all the universities vied with each other in conferring honours upon him. While at Bologna the hypothesis of Dominicus Maria, on the variability of the axis of the globe, gave him the idea of the motion of the earth. While at the same university (1497), Copernicus observed the occultation of Palatium by the moon. In less than six months after his removal to Rome (1500), he observed an eclipse of the moon. But fame had evidently no charm for him; and that his uncle was equally indifferent to it, may be inferred from the fact that while the pupils of Copernicus are increasing from day to day, he expresses a wish to return to Cracow (1502), and become a priest; and his wish is readily complied with by the bishop. Even after his return to his native country, he was consulted by the Sacred College at Rome respecting the improvement of the calendar.

For eight years Copernicus discharged the duties of an humble curate. During the same period he prosecuted his mathematical studies with ardour. His diploma entitled him to practise as a physician, but he availed himself of it only so far as to prescribe for such of his poor parishioners as wished him to do so, without charging them a penny. After having served eight years as a curate, his uncle made him canon of the chapter of Frauenburg. We have abundant testimony that no benefice ever conferred was better deserved than this. That it was not a mere favour for which he was indebted to

the partiality of his uncle, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the inhabitants of Thorn, believing that it was not a sufficient reward for the good he had done as a clergyman, elected him to the archdeaconry of the church of St. John. Both offices were barely sufficient to enable him to live comfortably, to relieve the distressed among his parishioners, and to pursue his favourite studies.

Strong inducements were held out to him by foreign universities to retire from the ministry and devote himself exclusively to the sciences; he was much pleased with the invitations of his friends, and he replied to them gratefully and courteously, but with a firm resolution never to abandon his parochial charge. There is something truly sublime in the self-denial and fortitude thus evinced by Copernicus. It was literally true of him that he wished to do good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame. Nor was he unacquainted with what was passing in Germany and England at the same time. He read the best of Luther's works; he went to hear the sermons of the ablest of the Reformers; but they produced no effect upon him, except, as he assured his friends, to attach him more and more to the tenets of the old religion. Accordingly, whenever the bishop was absent, Copernicus was entrusted with the government of the diocese; and so satisfactorily did he perform its duties that, after the death of two successive prelates, he was appointed vicar-general. In addition to these proofs of confidence in his piety and judgment, he was frequently deputed to the provincial diets, to combat the doctrines of Luther.

But even while travelling, he never for a single day neglected the studies which were destined to immortalize him. While others were vilifying each other about dogmas, he devoted his leisure hours to the making of mathematical instruments and the construction of aqueducts; and specimens of his skill in both are to be seen to this day. The aqueduct by which he supplied the mill of Graudenz, near his native village, is in a state of complete preservation; but that with which he supplied the inhabitants of Frauenburg with water exists no longer; nothing is left of it but the tower on the banks of the Passarge river, the

waters of which he raised to the highest point of the town. It is almost superfluous to remark that this tower is an object of great curiosity to travellers; it has been visited by scientific men from all parts of the world, and the interest which it awakens is not a little enhanced by a Latin inscription, rendered almost illegible by the hand of time, combined with the eagerness with which it has been examined by thousands.

*"Hic patiuntur aquae sursum properare coactae,  
Ne careat sitiens incola montis ope,  
Quod natura negat tribuit Copernicus arte,  
Unum pro cunctis Fama loquatur opus."\**

The plain two-story house at Frauenburg in which Copernicus resided for more than a quarter of a century, is still standing, and is annually visited by a large number of travellers. The philosopher used the garret of this house, and the steeple of the cathedral, alternately, as an observatory. The greatest modern conquerors, as well as the most illustrious scientific men, including Wallenstein, Frederick the Great, the Great Condé, Napoleon I., Leibnitz, Kepler, and Galileo, have visited these precious relics of the humble votary of religion and science, who wished no higher honour than the consciousness of doing his duty and contributing all he could, without money and without price, to the physical and intellectual, as well as spiritual improvement of his fellow-man. In the zenith of Napoleon's glory, he visited the grave of Copernicus. In 1807, the Emperor had the astronomer's tomb, in the church of St. John at Frauenburg, entirely renovated at his own expense, and placed in such a position that it could be seen from all parts of the church. On another occasion, Napoleon visited Thorn, and found that the philosopher's house was occupied by a weaver, who was in possession of a portrait of Copernicus. The Emperor caused himself to be conducted to the house, and offered the weaver a considerable sum for the portrait; but the honest artisan, though

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\* Here the waters, gathered together, are forced upwards, so that the inhabitants even of the mountains may not thirst; what nature has denied, Copernicus bestows by the power of art; let fame proclaim the great work.



poor, and having a large family depending on his efforts, preferred to retain it, as a sacred relic.

After Copernicus had completed his great work, during the hours snatched from multifarious other labours, he hesitated for a long time to publish it. Many writers who are influenced more by sectarian bigotry than the interests of truth or science, attribute this hesitancy to fear of priestly persecution; nor do they fail to produce elaborate arguments in support of their pretension; and it so happened, as will presently be seen, that there were circumstances which seemed to render their allegations at least plausible. It is proper to add, however, that none of the great authorities on science, whether Protestant or Catholic, have given any countenance to the slander; on the contrary, all who deserve this character indignantly deny it. Our readers will require no better authority on the subject than Humboldt: "An erroneous opinion unfortunately prevails, even at the present day," says the author of *Cosmos*, "that Copernicus, from timidity, and from apprehension of priestly persecution, advanced his views regarding the planetary movement of the earth, and the position of the sun in the centre of the planetary system, as a mere hypothesis, which fulfilled the object of submitting the orbits of the heavenly bodies more conveniently to calculation, but which need not necessarily either be true or even probable. These singular words certainly do occur in the *anonymous* preface attached to the work of Copernicus, and inscribed *De Hypothesibus hujus Operis*, but they are quite contrary to the opinions expressed by Copernicus, and in direct contradiction with his dedication to Pope Paul III. The author of these prefatory remarks was, as Gassendi most expressly says, in his life of the great astronomer, a mathematician then living at Nuremberg, and named Andreas Osiander, who together with Schoner superintended the printing of the work *De Revolutionibus*, and who, although he makes no express declaration of any religious scruples, appears nevertheless to have thought it expedient to speak of the new views as of an hypothesis, and not, like Copernicus, as of *demonstrated truth*. The founder of our present system of the universe (for to him incontestibly belong the most im-

portant parts of it, and the grandest features of the design) was almost more distinguished, if possible, by the intrepidity and confidence with which he expressed his opinions, than for the knowledge to which they owed their origin. He deserves to a high degree the fine eulogium passed upon him by Kepler, who, in the introduction to the Rudolphine Tables, says of him, '*Vir fuit maximo ingenio et quod in hoc exercitio (combating prejudices) magni momenti est, animo liber.*'" \*

When Copernicus is describing, in his dedication to the Pope, the origin of his work, he does not scruple to term the opinion generally expressed among theologians of the immobility and central position of the earth, "an absurd acroama," and to attack the stupidity of those who adhere to so erroneous a doctrine. "If even," he writes, "any empty-headed babblers (*ματαιολόγοι*), ignorant of all mathematical science, should take upon themselves to pronounce judgment on his work through an intentional distortion of any passage in the Holy Scriptures (*propter aliquem. locum scripturæ male ad suum propositum detortum*), he should despise so presumptuous an attack. It was, indeed, universally known that the celebrated Lactantius, who, however, could not be reckoned among mathematicians, had spoken childishly (*pueriliter*) of the form of the earth, deriding those who held it to be spherical. On mathematical subjects one should write only to mathematicians. In order to show that, deeply penetrated with the truths of his own deductions, he had no cause to fear the judgment that might be passed upon him, he turned his prayers from a remote corner of the earth to the head of the Church, begging that he would protect him from the assaults of calumny, since the Church itself would derive advantage from his investigations on the length of the year and the movements of the moon." †

Copernicus was aware that he would encounter more or less opposition from all classes, so deep-rooted were the prejudices in favor of the old system. That of Ptolemy, with its cycles and epicycles, was universally received. It was essen-

\* Humboldt's *Cosmos*. Harper's edition; vol. ii, pp. 305-6.

† *Ib.*

tially the same as that which had been adopted by Plato and Aristotle, who were then the great oracles of the schools; and, what was more than all in the eyes of the masses, it was confirmed by the command of Joshua to the sun and moon. The mathematical studies of nearly half a century had convinced Copernicus that notwithstanding all these testimonies the earth did not stand still, nor form the centre of the universe, as was supposed. But what was he to do? What use was there in promulgating what scarcely any were prepared to believe? Was it not better, he thought, to wait a while, until the world was somewhat better prepared?

But in the meantime he was not idle. He knew that the views of any one man, however learned and conscientious, could have little weight against the prejudices of ages; he knew that the Greek philosophers still exercised a powerful influence even in regard to those questions upon which they differed with Aristotle and Plato. Pursuing this train of thought, he came to the conclusion that men who had reasoned so profoundly on other subjects must have had more correct ideas of the system of the universe than the modern world supposed. Under this impression he extended his researches among the ancients, and he was delighted to find his views corroborated at almost every step. The first fact that encouraged him to proceed in this direction was, that the Egyptians had taught the revolution of Mercury and Venus about the sun. He remembered that the recent discovery of America by Columbus was also a powerful argument in support of his theory; he thought that the most prejudiced might be taught to understand from this discovery alone, that there was nothing absurd in believing that the land and water formed one globe; that this globe was not of immense size as compared with other globes; that it circulated freely in space; and that it was even possible for inhabitants to exist on the opposite side of it, who had their feet opposite to ours.

That this was the manner in which he reasoned we have the philosopher's own authority: \* "I therefore," he says,

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\* *Magis id erit clarum, si addantur insule ætate nostra sub Hispaniæ*

"resolved to re-read all the works of the philosophers which I had been able to procure, for the purpose of assuring myself whether they contained any opinions different from those taught in the schools relative to the movements of the spheres of the universe. I first saw in Cicero that Nicetas had advanced the opinion that the earth moved.\* Then I learned from Plutarch that others had entertained the same opinion."†

Copernicus does not require the reader to accept his word for this, but proceeds to quote his authorities in the original, so that all qualified for the task may satisfy themselves as to their genuineness. Hitherto scarcely any one had taken any notice of the account given by Plutarch of the system of Philolaus, in which the remark occurs that "the earth turns round the region of fire in passing through the zodiac, like the sun and moon."‡ As the philosopher proceeded farther he found that all the principal Pythagorians, including Archytas of Tarenta, Heraclides of Pontus, Echucratas, &c., had taught the doctrine that "the earth is not motionless in the centre of the earth, but that it revolves in a circle, and is far from occupying the first rank among the celestial bodies."§

Still more explicit, if possible, did Copernicus find the words of Timeus the Locriar, as reported by Plutarch, Timeus having called "the five planets the *organs of time*, on account of their revolutions."|| But he found in Plutarch information on the subject still more important than this, if possible; namely, that Plato regretted towards the close

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Lusitaniasque principibus repertae, et praesertim America ab inventore denominata navium praefecto, quam, ob incomptam ejus adhuc magnitudinem, alterum orbem terrarum putant, praeter multas alias insulas antea incognitas, quo minus etiam miremur antipodes sive antichthones esse. *De Revol., Corp. Coelest.* cap. iii. p. 2, edit. 1543.

\* *De Rev., Corp. Coel.*, lib. i. ch. v.

† Nicetam sensisse Terram Movere. *Cic. De Ann.*, lib. v.

‡ Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosoph.*, lib. ii. 23.

§ Τὴν γῆν οὕτε ἀκίνητον, οὕτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς εἶσαν, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰστρομένην, οὕτε τῶν τιμαστάτων, οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ κόσμου μορίων ὑπάρχειν. Plutarch, *Numa*; cf. ejusd.; *De Placid.*, iii. 13. Clement-Alex., *Stromat.*, v.

|| Plutarch, *De Placid.*, lib. iii. Vide also Dutens, *Origine des Découvertes attribuées aux modernes*. Tome i. p. 208.

of his life that he had not placed the sun in the centre of the universe, instead of making it revolve round the earth, as he had erroneously done.\*

It is evident that Copernicus was well acquainted with the works of Archimedes, which were still extant in his time; and Archimedes reports that Aristarchus of Samos had composed an elaborate and learned work three centuries anterior to our era, for the purpose of refuting those philosophers who maintained that the earth was immovable in the centre of the universe. The work of the great Samian no longer exists, but Archimedes reports that it taught in a positive manner that "the sun rests immovable, and that the earth revolves round it, describing a circular curve, of which that planet occupies the centre." †

Plutarch, the most faithful of historians, not only corroborates the statement of Archimedes, but he distinctly informs us that Aristarchus was accused of irreligion by his pagan countrymen for having "disturbed the repose of the goddess Vesta by teaching that the sky was immovable, and that the earth performed a revolution in an oblique orbit round the sun at the same time that it performed a movement of rotation on its own axis." ‡

We take pains all the more willingly to place these facts before our readers, because it is the habit at the present day to claim all great discoveries for the moderns of the last two or three centuries, and to represent the most learned of the ancients as mere smatterers or blunderers. Even in the text-books used in colleges and universities these are the doctrines in which the students are instructed. It is intimated that, if for no other reason than that they were not Christians, the ancients could not have been sufficiently enlightened to have made themselves acquainted with the

\* Πλάτωνα φασὶ πρεσβύτερον γενόμενον διανοησάσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστῶσης, τὴν τε μέσσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσεν. —Plutarch, *Numa*.

† τὸν ἥλιον μένειν ἀκίνητον· τὰν δὲ γῶν περιφέρεισθαι περὶ τὸν ἥλιον, κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῇ δρόμῳ κείμενος. —Archimedes; in Psammite. The passage here quoted occurs in the *Arenarius*, p. 449, of the Paris edition of Archimedes of 1615. Vide *Cosmos*, vol. ii., p. 311.

‡ Plutarch, *De Facie in orbe Luna*.

true system of the universe. In proof of this we are told to remember that Newton had studied the Bible as much as astronomy. And it is precisely the class of instructors that reason in this way who accuse others of superstition and bigotry.

We have seen already that Copernicus was neither superstitious nor bigoted; but that he regarded facts as nothing the less important or worthy of attention for having been first discovered or promulgated by pagans. In accordance with this feeling he interrogated Greek and Roman alike; nor did he seek to disparage any modern opinions which any intelligent person could regard as worthy of attention. Thus it was that the philosopher turned from the Greeks to the Romans, and from the Romans to the philosophers of the Middle Ages, and was more or less confirmed in his views by each.

Among the Romans, indeed, he found but vague ideas of the Pythagorean system; but vague as they were, they were justly regarded by him as important, fully aware as he was that the Romans were not a philosophical or investigating people. In turning to Vitruvius, he found just such views as might be expected from one who did little more than take a hasty glance at the works of the principal Greek philosophers, and it must be borne in mind that Vitruvius may be regarded as a pretty fair specimen of the scientific men of Rome in his time, or indeed at any time before the fall of the Empire. Vitruvius tells us that "the heavens revolve perpetually round the earth;" but to this he makes the very important addition that "Mercury and Venus perform their revolutions round the sun, which serves them as a centre."\*

We have the authority of Macrobius for the fact that Martianus of Capella also taught that Venus and Mercury did not revolve round the earth, but round the sun.† Of all the Roman philosophers the one who made the nearest approach to the truth was Seneca. "It would be well to

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\* *Cælum volvitur continentur circum Terram. Mercurii autem et Veneris stellæ circum solis radios, solem ipsum, uti centrum itineribus coronantes.* Vitruv., *De Architectura*, lib. ix. c. 4, &c.

† Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*, lib. I. c. 19.

examine," says Seneca, "whether it be the world which turns round the earth, the latter remaining immovable, or whether, if the earth revolves, the world remains inactive. Be it remembered, there are men who maintain that it is we whom the world carries about unknown to us; \* that it is not the movement of the heavens that causes the rising and setting of the stars; that it is we who rise and set relatively to them. It is a problem worthy of our contemplation to determine what condition we are really in; whether destiny has assigned us an immovable dwelling, or one endowed with a rapid movement; whether God causes the celestial bodies to revolve round us or us round them." †

These facts should teach the moderns to be somewhat less arrogant than they are, proving clearly as they do that the ancients were well acquainted with the true system of the universe. All the works of the Greek astronomers had been lost; nothing was known of them in the time of Copernicus except by tradition, or the allusions made to them in such more recent works as those we have quoted; and few took the trouble to examine these. Be it remembered that the Pythagoreans were the chief teachers of the heliocentric system; and that one of the chief dogmas of Pythagoras was that philosophers should not communicate their thoughts to the vulgar—that, in a word, they should publish nothing. The Pythagoreans might indeed prepare essays and read them to each other for mutual instruction; but they should not permit them to be copied.

When the civilizations of Greece and Rome passed away in turn, it was not strange then that no great astronomical works were left. The Turks on the one side, and the Goths on the other, were long the sworn enemies of the sciences, especially of astronomy, which they ranked among the black arts. This will account for the changes that had taken place even in the time of Ptolemy, who, it must be borne in mind, was the great oracle of astronomy in the time of Copernicus.

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\* Nos esse quos rerum natura nescientes ferat.

† Digna res est contemplatione, ut sciamus in quo rerum, statu simus pigerrimam sortiti an velocissimam sedem; circa nos Deus omnia, an nos agat. Seneca, *Quæst. Natural.*, lib. vii. c. 2.

His *Syntaxis* was regarded as an authority which it was rash if not impious to question; in short, it was the Bible of the scientific men of that age; if some refused to accept it as their guide, some also refused to accept the Pentateuch. Yet Ptolemy was not at all ignorant that others had placed the sun in the centre of the universe and made the earth move round it; but he had only a vague idea of the views of the ancients.

This any one who takes the trouble to consult his works may see for himself; for he has devoted whole chapters to the heliocentric system, but only for the purpose of ridiculing it. As there are but few of the most intelligent class who are acquainted with the works of Ptolemy, we will translate a passage or two from his chapter on the Pythagoreans, because we think they are interesting if only for the explanation which they afford of the hesitancy of Copernicus to promulgate views which he thought might render him ridiculous. The arguments which Ptolemy adduces against the mobility of the earth are similar to those which many atheists adduce against the existence of the Creator. If the atheists sometimes combine much that is sublime and true with the most egregious and absurd errors, Ptolemy does the same. First, he proves to the satisfaction of any intelligent person, that the earth is but a point in comparison with the universe, but it is precisely, he tells us, because this is the case, that it is not only absurd but absolutely ridiculous to maintain that it is the earth that moves and not the sun or the heavens. "We cannot say of the universe," he says, "that it is above or below, since this would not apply to a sphere. With regard to the bodies which it encloses, those which are entitled light are drawn by their nature outside and go to the circumference; they seem to us to be borne aloft, because this is the idea we have of the space above our heads, to the surface which seems to envelop us. Heavy bodies are, on the contrary, composed of dense elements, and tend to the centre; they seem to us to fall down, because all beneath our feet we call *below*; these bodies form a heap, without doubt, about the centre, by their opposing effects of time, shock, and friction. One can under-



stand, then, that the whole mass of the earth is so large compared to the bodies which fall upon it, that it can receive without having the least oscillation communicated to it either by their weight or their celerity. But if the earth had a movement in common with all the other heavy bodies, it would evidently outstrip them by the effect of its mass, leaving the animals as well as heavy bodies in general without any other support than the air, and would finally tumble out of the heavens altogether. Such are the consequences which would result ; they are *in the highest degree ridiculous*, even to imagine." \*

During the long sway of the Ptolemaic system, this was regarded as conclusive against the annual revolution of the earth as any thing in Newton's Principia is in our day, on the laws of gravitation. Nor was Ptolemy less confident of the impossibility of the diurnal rotation of the earth on its axis. "There are persons," he says, "who, arguing in this way, pretend that there is no reason to suppose that the heavens remaining stationary, the earth may not revolve on its axis from west to east, and accomplish that rotation each day. It is true, that with regard to the stars, there is no reason, taking account only of appearances, why it may not be supposed, for the sake of greater simplicity, that it may be so. But those persons have little idea, in view of what passes around us in the air, how *supremely ridiculous* is their opinion. For if we accord to them what is not, that the lightest bodies do not move, or do not move otherwise than those of a contrary nature, whilst the celestial bodies evidently move with greater velocity than the terrestrial ; if we accord to them that the heaviest and densest bodies have a movement peculiar to themselves which is rapid and constant, whereas in reality they obey only with pain the impulses communicated, those people will be obliged to admit that the earth by its rotation has a more rapid movement than any of those which take place around her, since she would perform so large a circuit in so little time. The bodies not supported on her would then appear to have always a movement

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\* *Syntaxis Mathematica*, lib. i. c. 5.

contrary to hers, and no cloud, nothing that flies or is projected would appear to direct itself towards the east, since the earth would always precede it in that direction; in this sense it would anticipate any projectile by its movement towards the east, so that all bodies, the earth alone excepted, would go backward towards the west. If they said that the atmosphere is carried along by the earth with the same rapidity as the latter is herself, it would not be the less true that those other bodies would not have the same velocity; or if those bodies were drawn along as having the same velocity as the air, no one would precede or follow another; they would all appear stationary, whether they flew, or were projected." \*

Now, when Copernicus commenced his great work, these views were as universally received as Kepler's great Laws are at the present day. Ptolemy was considered as great an authority on Astronomy then, as Newton, Kepler, Galileo, and Laplace together are now.

But, it was not alone the Greeks and Romans who, when intelligently interrogated, encouraged Copernicus in his great work; it was not alone the Pagans who had maintained the mobility of the earth; a prince of the church which is said to be inimical to science had done so. The celebrated Cardinal Cusa, who had died ten years before Copernicus was born, declared it evident (*manifestum*) that in reality it is the earth which moved (*istam terram in veritate moveri*), although we may not be able to prove this movement except by comparison with some fixed element of the heavens." † The work in which this bold statement is made is still extant, and is entitled *De Docta Ignorantia*. The Cardinal wished to show, as the title of his curious and valuable treatise implies, that there were a great many who desired to be considered learned that were in reality ignorant; and what better illustration could he have given of the fact than this?

Why, then, it may be asked, did Copernicus hesitate. If a prince of the church had previously proclaimed that the

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\* Ptol. *Syntax. Math.*, lib. 1, c. 6.

† Cardinal Cusa. *Opera*, Bâle, 1565. fol. p. 41.

earth moves, and suffered no persecution for having done so, —and he could hardly have been ignorant of the fact—what was he afraid of? But this does not meet the difficulty. Copernicus was aware that, old as the Church was even in his time, philosophers had been persecuted before it existed. He knew it was not the church that persecuted Socrates, and finally put him to death, but the populace; he was aware that it was not the church that placed the life of Anaxagoras in jeopardy for having asserted that the moon was considerably larger, small as it looked in the heavens, than the whole of the Peloponnesus, and that if its centrifugal force ceased for a moment, *it would fall to the earth like a stone from a sling.\**

But altogether independently of any apprehension of personal danger, Copernicus was one of those gentle spirits who shrink from creating any commotion; at the same time he did not wish to be ridiculed even by the vulgar. That he was more or less influenced by all these circumstances is sufficiently evident from a passage in his dedication of his great work to Pope Paul III. "I do not doubt," he says, "but that as soon as it is known what I have written in this work about the movements of the earth, I shall be scoffed at (*statim me explodendum cum tali opinione clamitent*). Besides, I am not so amorous of my own ideas as not to take account of what others may think of theirs; accordingly, although the thoughts of a philosopher are at variance with those of the vulgar, because he proposes to himself the research of truth as much as God permits it to human reason, I am not, however, disposed to entirely reject the opinions of those who differ from me."

All these reasons, he tells us, combined with the fear of making himself an object of ridicule, had almost determined him to abandon the idea of publishing the work. As we have already intimated, he had no intention, however, of destroying it, for he was fully aware of its value. His idea was to entrust it to some faithful disciples, who would publish it after his death, when they thought the proper time had arrived. "But

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\* Plutarch, *De Facie in Orbe Lunæ*, p. 923.

some friends," he says, "among whom are Cardinal Schomberg and Eidemann Gisia, bishop of Kulm, have succeeded in conquering my repugnance. The latter, especially, earnestly insisted on my publishing this work, which I have held back, not for nine years, but for near thirty-six." \*

These facts are attested by several writers whose veracity is beyond question. Gassendi says that the Bishop of Kulm, a native of Dantzic, who had for years urged Copernicus to publish his work, at last received the manuscript with the permission of having it printed fully in accordance with his own free pleasure. He sent it first to Rheticus, professor at Wittenberg, who had until recently been living for a long time with his teacher at Frauenburg.

Thus, we are bound to admit as beyond all dispute, that not only was the system of the universe now universally received founded by a priest of the church which is said to be an enemy of science, but that it was a bishop and cardinal of the same church who above all others took most pains to have the system promulgated to the world. It was, in fact, they who paid all the expenses of printing the work; and finally it was to the head of the church the work was dedicated; nor was it dedicated to the Pope without his having given full permission; and it is further proved that Paul III. had not given this permission until he had made himself acquainted with the character of the work.

We think it due to the Catholics to state these facts; nay, the cause of truth requires that we should do so; for, as we mentioned at the beginning of this article, there is not one of the illustrious thinkers of modern times to whom less justice has been done in the English language than Copernicus. As an illustration of the treatment he has received at the hands even of the most respectable English historians, we will quote a remark or two from "Hallam's Literature of Europe." There are few works in our library which we value more highly than those of Hallam; and there are few more honest or more liberal writers in any language. We fully acquit the historian of intending to do any injustice to

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\* Gassendi, *Vita Copernici*, p. 319.

Copernicus as a discoverer, or as an individual; he had no such object. But when he wrote his valuable work it was not fashionable—nay, it was scarcely respectable, to speak of any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, as such, with any deference to his sacerdotal character. Accordingly, Hallam takes care to say nothing about the profession of Copernicus, or if he makes an allusion to it, he does so rather by way of casting a slur on the church. The historian introduces Copernicus to us as follows: “*This founder of modern astronomy was born at Thorn,*” &c. Not a word is said of his having been educated as a priest, or of his having discharged any of the duties of a Christian minister. The only remark that can be regarded in this light is the following: “*He became possessed afterward of an ecclesiastical benefice in his own country.*” \*

The natural inference from this is, that without having been educated for the priesthood, and without having discharged any of the duties of a priest, he received church property as a gift. The reader has no reason to suppose, however, that this benefice was given to Copernicus as a reward for the service he had rendered, or was likely to render, to science. Judging from the account of Hallam, his cultivation of science would have been more likely to have deprived him of a benefice than procured him one. “He seems to have completed his treatise about 1530,” says the historian, “but perhaps dreaded the bigoted prejudices which afterward oppressed Galileo. Hence he is *careful to propound his theory as an hypothesis*; though it is sufficiently manifest that he did not doubt of its truth.” †

Gassendi has clearly proved that Copernicus had *not* propounded his system as an hypothesis; and his views on the subject have received the sanction of Humboldt, as we have already seen. We mention the matter here, however, only as illustrative of the treatment received by Copernicus even at the hands of historians, who are in general just and liberal. But no testimony is required by

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\* Introd. to the Lit. of Modern Europe. Vol. I. p. 236.

† *Syntax. Math.*, lib. 1, c. 6.

any one acquainted with the great work of Copernicus to refute the charge of his having represented his labors as different from what he believed them to be; many passages could be adduced in his own language to show that he neither doubted the truth of his system nor made any attempt to cause others to doubt it. But one will suffice; we quote this all the more willingly, because it affords a good specimen of the animated, picturesque, and graphic style of the author. "By no other arrangement," he exclaims, with enthusiasm, "have I been able to find so admirable a symmetry of the universe, and so harmonious a connection of orbits, as by placing the lamp of the world (*lucernam mundi*), the sun, in the midst of the beautiful temple of nature, as on a kingly throne, ruling the whole family of circling stars that revolve around him (*circumagentem gubernans astrorum familiam*)."

Copernicus was seventy years of age when he finally complied with the wishes of Cardinal Schomberg, the Bishop of Kulm and other friends to have the work published. When the first printed copy was brought to him, he was able to do little more than touch it with his hands; several of his biographers, including Gassendi, say that he only lived a few hours after receiving it.† Humboldt maintains that he did not die for several days afterward, but says that his thoughts were no longer fixed on earthly things.‡

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\* For the benefit of the classical student who may not have access to the original treatise, we subjoin the whole passage in which these remarks occur, as it was penned by the illustrious author; and it will be seen that it not only breathes the genuine classic spirit, but is highly poetical: "Quis enim in hoc pulcherrimo templo lampadem hanc in alio vel meliori loco poneret, quam unde totum simul possit illuminare? Siquidem non inepte quidam lucernam mundi, alii mentem, alii rectorem vocant. Trismegistus visibilem Deum, Sophoclis Electra in tuentem omnia. Ita profecto tanquam in solio regali Sol residens circumagentem gubernat Astrorum familiam: Tellus quoque minime fraudatur lunari ministerio, sed ut Aristoteles de animalibus ait, maximam Luna cum terra cognationem habet. Conceptit terra interea a Sole terra, et impregnatur annuo partu. Invenimus igitur sub hac ordinatione admirandam mundi symmetriam ac certum harmoniæ nexum motus et magnitudinis orbium; qualis alio modo reperiri non potest. Nicol. Copern., *De Revol. Orbium Cælestium*, lib. i. cap. 10, p. 9, b.

† Vide Gassendi's *Life of Tycho Brahe*, p. 320.

‡ *Cosmos*, Vol. II. p. 304.

As already remarked, the highest in authority in the Church were fully aware of the character of the work long before its publication ; but that did not deprive him of any honor which it was proper to confer on a clergyman at his decease. Most of his biographers record that he was buried at the foot of the altar before which he had been accustomed for more than thirty years to celebrate mass.

As the illustrious author had anticipated himself, the new system encountered much opposition ; it was denounced as dangerous, and ridiculed as absurd, in turn ; but not by the Church. Its chief assailants were the astronomers, who still refused to believe that Plotemy, their cherished master, and the oracle of centuries, was after all but a blunderer. Hence it was that, as Montucla informs us, it was easy to reckon the number of the adherents of the Copernican theory during the 16th century. After Rhæticus they may be nearly reduced to Reinold, author of the Prussian tables ; Rothman, whom Tycho drew over afterwards to his own system ; Christian Wursticus (Ursticus), who made some proselytes in Italy ; finally Mæstlin, the illustrious master of Kepler.\*

Nearly all the other astronomers who published their productions, made attacks upon the Copernican system, in one form or other. The controversy between the adherents of the rival systems attracted little attention for about a quarter of a century after the death of Copernicus ; then it became the all-absorbing topic among the learned. Not only did the Church still refrain from condemning the work of Copernicus, but it continued to give new assurances from time to time of its high esteem for the author. In illustration of this, we need only remark here that the philosopher was thirty-eight years dead, when Cromerus, Bishop of Ermeland, caused the following inscription to be placed on his headstone, which is shown to visitors at the present day, in the Chapter's room :

D. O. M.

R. D. Nicolai Copernico Tournensi,  
Artium et Medicinæ Doctori, Canonico Varmiensi,

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\* *Vide* Drinkwater, *Life of Galileo*, p. 83 ; also Playfair's *Dissertation*, and Hallam's introduction, Vol. I. p. 397.

Praestanti Astrologo et ejus Dicipinae instauratori,  
 Martinus Cromerus Episcopus Varmiensis  
 Honoris et ad Posteritatem Memoriae causa posuit,  
 MDCXXXI.

In a letter enclosing this inscription, dated Nov. 21st, 1580, the bishop says that as Copernicus while living was an ornament, not only to his church but to his country, so now that he is dead he has no need for a monument, but that the living might honor themselves in honoring him. Another monument, of uncertain date, is dedicated to Copernicus in the church of St. John, at Thorn, his native town. Here he is represented before a crucifix in his canonical robes, with a celestial globe by his side, to which is appended a scroll, bearing the following inscription :

"Non parem Pauli gratiam require,  
 Veniam Patri neque posco, sed quam  
 In crucis ligno dederas Latroni, sedulus oro." \*

Nicolai Copernico Thoruniensi absolutae subtilitatis mathematico, ne tanti viri, apud exteros celeber, in sua patria periret memoria hoc monumentum positum. Mortu Varmiae in suo Canonicatu, anno 1543, die 4, aetatis LXXIII.

It must be admitted that in all this we have illustrations, not of "priestly bigotry," but of priestly enlightenment and liberality. When there is bigotry, far be it from us to conceal or justify it; none are more willing to expose and denounce it. We have brought forward the above facts in order to vindicate truth, and do justice to those who did not deserve to be maligned. Paul III. was far too enlightened a pontiff to persecute a man of genius, even if he conscientiously believed him to be the cause of much mischief; he had not the least disposition to persecute even Luther—nor did he ever affect to despise him, but sent his legates to confer with him as with a king or emperor. It was the same pope who established the order of the Jesuits, and required that the chief weapon they should use in favor of the Church was

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\* "Not equal favor with Paul do I require; neither do I ask pardon from the Father; but that which thou gavest to the robber on the cross, I earnestly pray for."



*knowledge*; and that they should combat ignorance by devoting most of their time to the education of youth.

But all popes have not been so enlightened, thoughtful, and liberal as Paul III.; nor have all cardinals and bishops been as friendly to science and scientific men, as were the patrons and friends of Copernicus; and yet we are bound to admit that the large majority of ecclesiastics of all grades have been favorable to science. For one who has opposed its progress, or persecuted its votaries, at least fifty have pursued the opposite course. This is the reason why we always honor the Church, no matter how much we may differ with Catholics in regard to some of its dogmas. We think nothing is more unjust than to hold it responsible for what one individual out of fifty may do, even though that individual be a Pope. Accordingly we do not condemn it, because it so happened that a decree was issued from the Vatican the 5th of March, 1616, condemning the great work of Copernicus, as "containing ideas given as true, of the situation and movements of the earth—ideas entirely contrary to the Holy Scriptures."

We hold that the act itself was wrong, but there were extenuating circumstances connected with it. To those unacquainted with the facts, the natural inference would be that Paul V., under whose pontificate the decree was issued, was bigoted and intolerant. Such was not the case, however; he was, on the contrary, one of the most enlightened and liberal men of his time, and he was possessed withal of undaunted courage. It was at this period that the Council of Ten at Venice oppressed all whose misfortune it was to be under its jurisdiction. The pope ordered his representatives to protest in the name of humanity as well as of the Church against the habitual murders and spoliations of that infamous junto. The two ecclesiastics deputed to make this protest, were immediately seized, condemned, and imprisoned, without being allowed any opportunity to defend themselves. Nor did the Council of Ten content itself with this; it issued a decree which deprived the clergy of the most ordinary privileges—prohibiting them, under pains and penalties, from even building a church without permission.

The pope issued an "admonition," warning the government that if it did not cease its oppressions he would excommunicate the Doge and the whole Senate, as well as the Council of Ten. When Paul V. saw that this had not the desired effect, and had only resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and others, who had obeyed the interdict, he referred the difficulty "to the sense of humanity and justice" of Henry IV. of France, requesting at the same time that Henry would only exercise his moral influence. The king complied with the wishes of the pope; and the difficulty was settled for the time—the Council of Ten giving assurances through the ambassadors of the Republic that it would see that its officers would, in future, exercise more discrimination in making arrests, &c. The pope was gratified to know that if his interdict failed his influence saved the lives and properties of many; and it will be admitted that conduct like this is not characteristic of a bigot.

In addition to all this, Sarpi had attacked the church, and tried to introduce the doctrines of Calvin into Venice, drawing some of his strongest arguments from the views of Copernicus on the motion of the earth. "If it is not correct," says Sarpi, "that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and that this command had the effect of lengthening the day, as we are told in the Bible, certain other commands are equally misunderstood, and the more we reflect on the whole question the more satisfied we must be that nothing occurs to the earth, the sun, or any other body whatever, or to man himself, but *what was ordained by God before the creation of the world.*" This, be it remembered, was the *dictum* of the Secretary of the Council of Ten—the person who framed its iniquitous laws, suggesting improvements whenever he could in the art of aggravating the torments of his fellow-citizens.

The pope also saw that even in France there seemed to be danger that the new ideas would prove injurious to religion. Saurez, a Jesuit, had written a work entitled "*Defense de la foi catholique*," which was condemned by the Parliament of Paris to be burned by the public executioner for no other reason than that some passages in it seemed to allude derog-

atively to monarchical authority. At this time several Jesuits were members of the Congregation of the Index, the tribunal whose duty it was to examine all books supposed to be injurious to religion, and to condemn such as were believed to have any such tendency.

Now, if it be borne in mind that Paul V. was sixty-four years of age at this time, and in so feeble a state of health as to be incapable of performing any of the functions of his high office, it will hardly seem so serious an affair, after all, that *De Revolutionibus Corporum Cælestium* was placed on the Index nearly a century after the death of its illustrious author. Science has suffered but little if anything from it; and still less has the fame of Copernicus suffered. We have seen already that the latter was placed on a firm basis by princes of the Catholic church. If it has suffered any injury since their time the blame must be traced to a different source, as we have shown at the beginning of this paper.

It should be remembered that, independently of the prejudices entertained against Catholics even by eminent writers for more than a century, some of the claims of Copernicus to immortality conflict with those of Newton. The great English philosopher receives the credit of being the discoverer of gravity; but Copernicus had indicated the existence of that power in the plainest terms more than a century before he was born. "For my part," says the founder of our present system, "I regard weight (*gravity*), as a certain natural appetency with which the Divine Architect of the universe has endowed the parts of matter, so that they may unite in the form of a globe. This property is probably possessed by the sun, the moon, and the planets; *it is to it those bodies owe their rotundity, as well as their movements.*" \*

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\* Equidem existimo, *gravitatem* non aliud esse, quam appetentiam quandam naturalem partibus inditam a divina providentia Opificis Universorum, ut in unitatem integritatemque suam sese conferant in formam globi coësantes. Quam affectionem credibile est etiam Soli, Lunæ, cæterisque errantium fulgoribus in esse, ut ejus efficacia in ea qua se representant rotunditate permaneant, quæ nihilominus multis modis suos efficiunt circuitus. Nicol., Copern. *De Revol. Orb. Cæl.* lib. i. cap. 9, p. 7.

The very terms used by the author, as may be seen from the original, which we transcribe below, is *gravity*. This shows that, although the laws of universal gravitation or attraction have been developed by Newton and Kepler, to Copernicus, undoubtedly, is due the honor of priority in suggesting the existence of those laws. There are several other discoveries the germs of which are to be found in the great work of Copernicus; but our article has already exceeded the bounds we had prescribed for it. Our object in writing it was twofold; we thought it would be interesting, as well as fair, to show that Copernicus was a much more profound and original thinker than he is generally regarded at the present day; we also wished to show how unjust and ungenerous it is to brand as the enemies of science a body of men who, independently of all they have done besides for the development of the human mind, and especially during the long centuries when they alone were the only protectors and cultivators of learning, have given us through one of the most unassuming of their brethren, the noble system of the universe which is now universally received. Whether we have succeeded or not, it will be for the intelligent and impartial reader to say.

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- ART. II.—1. *Human Life in Shakespeare*. By HENRY GILES, Author of "Illustrations of Genius," &c. Boston, 1868.
2. *Studies of Shakespeare*. By CHARLES KNIGHT. London, 1868.
3. *Life and Genius of Shakespeare*. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. Boston, 1866.

THE vitality of Shakespeare, and the fresh interest that he still possesses for the world, are striking phenomena. In turning over lists of new publications, the number of new editions of Shakespeare and works upon Shakespeare continually and forcibly draw attention. In the course of a cursory review we have counted more than thirty such publications issued in Great Britain and the United States only within the compass of eighteen months, and this without taking into account the numerous magazine and newspaper

articles upon the same subject. The works in foreign languages, ranging from French and German even to Hindostani, into which language Shakespeare has recently been translated, would doubtless double the number. The various character of these works, costly illustrated sets, and cheap editions, new annotations and fac-similes of first folios, studies of his delineations of insanity, new explanations of his meaning, discussions of his religious opinions, his relations to the other Elizabethan poets, attempted derivations of his thoughts from this and that eminent man, and even attempted proofs that the works called his were really the works of other eminent men of the time,—this varied character of Shakesperian literature is as noteworthy as its quantity.]

It has been often said that a complete collection of Shakesperian literature would form of itself a considerable library. Certainly the annual accessions to it would make a good yearly increase to a library. Well worn as the subject of "Shakespeare" is, it still keeps its popularity. The strongest proof of the living power of genius is that it draws kindred genius to the study of itself; that to its fountain "other suns, repairing in their golden urns, draw light." De Quincey was hardly extravagant in saying that Shakespeare was a necessary luxury of modern life.

[But much as has been said about Shakespeare, we have wondered that one of the most interesting topics has been almost neglected. Of the quiet years passed by Shakespeare in Stratford and London there has been no lack of biographers who, like dogs with their bones, have made up for the lack of materials by the fierceness and pertinacity with which they have quarrelled over them. But the main part of Shakespeare's life,—not the fragment of fifty years at the Globe Theatre and New Place, but the centuries during which he has travelled into all parts of the earth, in which he has been growing successively into our wonder, friendship and comprehending worship, in which he has been impelling and directing the progress of the world,—this, his greater and truer life, has seldom had its history recounted.

It is this to which we would direct the attention of our readers. We would sketch briefly some of the vicissitudes

of Shakespeare's fame, the rise of an intelligent admiration of him, and the special influence which he has exerted upon the movement of the world.

Accustomed to hear Shakespeare spoken of in language little below idolatrous homage, and, if we cannot appreciate him to keep our lips tightly glued over the rank heresy lest we be thought witless or crazy, we can hardly realize some of the things that have been formerly said about Shakespeare. A little incredulity might be easily excused in regard to the statement that in 1693 an eminent historian in a critical *Essay upon Shakespeare*, called Othello "none other than a brutal farce without salt or savor," and declared that "in the neighing of a horse or the growling of a mastiff there is as lively expression as, and I may say more humanity than, many times in the tragical flights of Shakespeare." Yet the doubter may find it set down in the text of an *Essay upon Shakespeare* by Thomas Rhymer the author of the *Fœdera*.

Voltaire may perhaps be credited with having said anything iconoclastic and extravagant, even that "Shakespeare had more barbarity than genius," and that Hamlet was a "gross and barbarous piece which one would think was the fruit of the imagination of a drunken savage"; but it seems hardly possible that he could have been, as he seems to have been, doing little more than expressing the general sentiment of Frenchmen at that day. There were even many of Hume's countrymen, a hundred years ago, who would have had no hesitation in uniting with him in declaring that Shakespeare "could not for any length of time uphold a reasonable propriety of thought." It is hardly less curious that for a century and a quarter the strongest admirers of Shakespeare could speak of him as a wonderful genius, devoid of all judgment or taste, but by some blind inspiration mixing with a tissue of the grossest absurdities, strands of finest truth;—a kind of poetical Osiris or Ammon, half brute, half god. It is hardly a hundred years since this was the prevalent tone of comment upon Shakespeare.

To suppose, however, that Shakespeare, until about a century ago, was never much thought of, is a mistake. To be sure, the tone of feeling toward him during his own life-

time and the first century after his death, was far removed from the indiscriminate laudation of the present day. If there was no other reason, there were too many lean and hungry Cassiuses still alive who had themselves talked and walked with him, perhaps had heard him in a fever cry for some drink like a sick child, and who pragmatically challenged the right of this Shakespeare to become a god and bestride the narrow world like a colossus. Was he not a man such as they? Was not Ford or Beaumont as good a name as Shakespeare?

But the tone of feeling in regard to him was equally removed from that of contempt or neglect. Though placed on no unapproachable pinnacle, he was yet regarded as the foremost of his contemporaries. The flights of the "Sweet Swan of Avon" both charmed the populace in the Globe Theatre, and took captive the royal Eliza and James. The intellectual head and literary authority of the first generation after Shakespeare's death was Ben Jonson; of the second, Milton; of the third, Dryden; and each of them gave Shakespeare ample honor in most emphatic phrase,—tributes which have become the current coin of quotation. Throughout this period Shakespeare was the favorite of the stage, and before the close of the seventeenth century four large folio editions of his work had been published, a success which should be measured by the fact that within the same period no other great writer of that age had gone beyond a single edition.

But in the last third of the seventeenth century a change came upon English literature.

"In our old plays, the humour, love and passion,  
Like doublet, hose, and cloak are out of fashion.  
That which the world called wit in Shakespeare's age,  
Is laughed at as improper for our stage." \*

The Restoration brought across the Channel, among the retinue of other vices that made the court of Charles the Second infamous, the artificial rules and fashions of the French Classical School. Pretty nearly the whole literary world was speedily infected, and the entire herd of smaller

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\* Prologue to Shirley's *Love Tricks*, 1667.

critics and authors completely possessed by the malady in its most virulent form. The dicta of Aristotle and the example of Corneille were set up as the infallible standards of poetic merit. The punctilious observance of the Unities, of a rosewater decorum and of what was called poetical justice, became the test of dramatic merit. The perfection of style was to be found in a minute regularity and correctness, a cold and unvaried elegance, an imposing travesty of commonplaces. Imagine, as has been well suggested, a Fifth Avenue exquisite surveying a thunder-scarred Titan through an Opera glass and complacently comparing the giant's uncouthness with his own pretty figure and unexceptionable make-up. With the same delightful appropriateness and modesty the London critics brought Shakespeare to their classical fashion-block; and because his colossal form could not be pressed into conformity with its dapper proportions, Shakespeare was declared a monstrosity "*in toto*," or at least every limb that projected was pronounced a deformity. Even the beauties, which they could not help being moved by, they declared had no right to move or to be called beauties. So they at once pitied Shakespeare and despised the town for its unaccountable bigotry in continuing to admire him after they had shown forth his faults; "which I take to be," says the modest Gildon, "a much greater proof of the folly and abandoned taste of the town than of any imperfection in the critic." The reader ought not to be deprived of a sight of some of this infallible criticism. It was Rhymer's Essay on Shakespeare, a few *morceaux* from which we have already given, which Gildon was defending against Dryden, who, while admitting the justness of Rhymer's criticism, asked, "who, however, minds the critics or admires Shakespeare the less?"

"Whatever rubs or difficulties may stick upon the bark, the moral, sure, of this fable," (he is speaking of the play of Othello,) "is very instructive. First, this may be a caution to all young ladies of quality how, without their parents' consent, they run away with blackamoors. Secondly, this may be a warning to all good wives that they look well to their linen. Thirdly, this may be a lesson to their husbands



that before their jealousy be tragical, the proofs may be mathematical."

The plot of *Othello* is called an improbable lie, and the characters and manners are said to be not less unnatural and improper than the fable was improbable and absurd.

Poor "ugly duck!" Unhappy butt of ridicule for all the ducks and geese, with your long, crooked neck, which you are always arching so absurdly, and your unvaried white plumage, such as no respectable duck was ever known to wear, and your low-bred way of thrusting out your breast, and drawing back your head, and raising your wings when you glide over the water! How sad it is you were never taught the proper way for a duck to carry herself; and what a height of absurdity that there should be some who *will* say that you are a *swan*, and beautiful! The ugly duckling in the tale, though long despised and laughed at, is at length acknowledged to be in truth a swan, and extorts the admiration of her former disparagers. Stronger than logic, principles, prejudices, is the evidence of the senses. The most conclusive arguments for the non-existence of pain cannot hold their ground long against the toothache; and when Diodorus Cronus got his shoulder-blade put out of place, and the physician whom he sent for to reset it, with sly maliciousness kept him in torture, while he proved by Diodorus' own reasoning that it was absolutely impossible for anything to move or to be moved,—even Diodorus then, we fancy, was convinced that his pet syllogism, which passed unsolved for two thousand years, had some terrible flaw in it somewhere. So before long, the spell of Shakespeare's power and splendor broke through the critics' armor of conceit. His genius shone forth so dazzlingly that they had to see and acknowledge it in spite of themselves. Yet, while the next race of critics assigned Shakespeare the first place in comparison with all other poets, and brought out edition after edition, and commentary after commentary with amazing assiduity; on the other hand, they still imagined that he wrote without any system or principle. They found him as full of strained conceits and ridiculous rubbish as of beauties. When the impulses of their hearts gained the ascendancy, he was called

divine; when their critical rules mastered; he was pronounced imbecile. They could no longer help acknowledging that this beautiful passion-flower which so enchanted them, had real loveliness as well as the regular lilies which were the embodiment of their principles of beauty, yet they still clung obstinately to their old idea that there was only one standard of beauty for all, and that that model was exhibited by these familiar simple lilies, all departures from the form of which, however pleasing, were yet irregularities and excrescences.

Dennis and Rowe, the editors of the first critical edition of Shakespeare, were among those who were completely ridden by that Old Man of the Sea of the day, the critical rules of art. It was to Shakespeare's lack of a knowledge of these that his faults, as they thought, were owing. The notion so possessed Dennis, together with Cibber, Davenant, Tate, and other now forgotten *dramatic masters*, that they set busily to work remodelling and improving Shakespeare, making his verses smooth and even, and his plots regular, and their catastrophes accordant with poetical justice. For example, Shakespeare had carelessly put into the mouth of Coriolanus, when tauntingly called a "boy" by Aufidius, the rough and uneven lines,

"Boy! False hound!

If you have writ your annals true, 'tis there  
That like an eagle in a dove-cote, I  
Fluttered your Volsces in Corioli—  
Alone I did it, ——Boy!"

These ragged and careless lines Dennis with happy skill recasts into lines of regular length and smoothness, thus:

"This boy, that like an eagle in a dove-cote  
Fluttered a thousand Volsces in Corioli,  
And did it without second or acquittance,  
Now sends their mighty chief to mourn in hell."

If all the spirit of the passage has been pressed out in the operation, of what importance is that? Hamlet was made to end with a song, and Tate concludes Lear by marrying Cordelia and Edmund, and making Lear dance at the wedding.

Rowe was followed by England's Voltaire, the brilliant and superficial Pope. Pope praised in the highest terms Shakespeare's characters, his power over the passions, his knowledge of the world and his penetration into human nature; then he turns round and says that as "he has certainly written better, so he has probably written worse than any other writer;" and he accuses him of having lowered the tone of his plays to please the public. In Pope's Preface and also in Warburton's, the idea that Shakespeare's plays have been defaced with innumerable blunders and absurdities, and even whole passages and scenes by the interpolations of the players, is strenuously insisted on. Their admiration for Shakespeare was not an intelligent admiration of the real Shakespeare, the result of a true comprehension of the character of his plays; but it was an admiration of an ideal Shakespeare of their own, formed by correcting in conformity to it or rejecting wholly, all the parts of Shakespeare that fell below their conventional standard of elegance or rose above their comprehension. Warburton, indeed, deprecated the application to Shakespeare of "that sort of criticism raised mechanically upon the rules which Dacier, Rapin and Bosser collected from antiquity," or of "those crude and superficial judgments," "that worst sort of critical jargon, now so much in vogue, that namely which looks most like sense." But Warburton could criticise the critics better than perform the critic's duty himself.

The critic who evinced the most good sense in his comments upon Shakespeare was Theobald, the "poor, puddling Tibbald," the first hero of the Dunciad. It was the very modesty of Theobald that enabled him to surpass the efforts of his illustrious rivals. His modesty saved him from adopting the domineering, pedagogueish air which was then considered the proper manner for a critic sitting in judgment upon an author, but which, in fact, is destructive of the sympathy and faith necessary to the comprehension of a work of genius.

The great Sir Oracle of the day, however, was Dr. Johnson. If the character of that "masterpiece of criticism," his famous Preface to his edition of Shakespeare was to be

summed up in one phrase, we should have to describe it as an eminent example of that second kind of criticism that Warburton complains of—"the jargon that looks most like sense." Shakespeare's constant shining had by this time so won the eyes of men that the authority of the classic models was beginning to be weakened, and suspicions had commenced to arise that what excited such pleasure could not be such a violation of true dramatic propriety or so devoid of artistic skill in its composition, as had been imagined.

So Dr. Johnson, though "frighted" at his own "temerity," laboriously shows that the drama is under no necessity of possessing, as essential to truth or completeness, the Unities of Place or Time,—the sacred rules which Shakespeare had most sinned against. The old standard having been set aside, some new art standard must be found which Shakespeare must be supposed to have aimed to conform to, and by which he is to be tried. Such a standard he makes of the closeness of the copying of nature and success in the instruction of life. He sees in Shakespeare's plays nothing but a holding of the mirror up to nature, an attempt at literal delineations of actual objects and of common experiences of life,—faithful word-pictures in the manner of the Dutch School. "Shakespeare talks the language not of poets but of men," Dr. Johnson says, and when he meets with anything outside the ordinary occurrences of the world or the regular exhibition of the feelings, he is unable to comprehend it, and falls to berating Shakespeare. "Shakespeare's plots," he says, "are often so loosely designed, that a very slight consideration may improve them, and so carelessly pursued that he seems not always fully to understand his own design." For example, (for the test of the meaning and the truth of general remarks is their application in particular cases,) Johnson *objects* to the conduct and the plot of Hamlet that "Hamlet by his feigned madness did nothing that he might not have done with the reputation of sanity;" that "Hamlet is through the whole piece rather an *instrument* than an *agent*;" that "after he has convicted the King he makes no attempt to punish him," and so on.

Truly those who prefer the play of Hamlet with the part

of Hamlet out, have learned critics on their side. The only thing that Johnson had to say in praise of Hamlet's pretended madness, viz.: that "it makes much mirth," shows an equal insight into Shakespeare's creations. Cymbeline is called "unresisting imbecility," and the most praiseworthy thing he finds in the Merchant of Venice is the happy manner in which the two plots are united! Although Johnson had formally thrown off allegiance to the unities of place and time, the old trick of bowing to them is continually reasserting itself, and most of the other conventionalities still held him fast. For Shakespeare's violations of the proprieties he supplies the excuse that "he had no example of such fame as might force him upon imitation nor critics of such authority as might restrain his extravagance." We forbear the comment which Dr. Johnson's criticism of Hamlet provokes. Johnson having cut loose from the old moorings of criticism, and having found no other stable anchorage, swung to and fro, like the floating island of classic myth, with every gust of feeling or ideas. But more than this, "the great moralist," great as were his talents on certain sides, was wanting in the depth of inward thought, in the poetic sensibility, and the imaginative flight that was requisite to discover the secret of Shakespeare's creations. Johnson could see only the outside. His criticism, therefore, could not well be otherwise than inconsistent, coldly moderate, and superficial.

The numerous editors and commentators that succeeded Johnson, each of them doing his best "to elucidate Shakespeare into obscurity," followed, for the most part, in the footsteps of their predecessors. Some of them, however, and nearly all of the occasional critics and less ambitious essayists, show some advance toward the right comprehension of Shakespeare. Yet as late as 1784 we find Mr. Wm. Richardson, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow, publishing an Essay called "Cursory Remarks upon Tragedy," in which he says: "With an impartiality which becomes every man that thinks for himself, let us allow him (Shakespeare) great merit as a comic writer, greater still as a poet, but little, very little as a tragedian." Even as late as almost the end of the last century, the custom was still in vogue of talking about

Shakespeare's nonsense, indecorums, irregularities, and lack of refinement and art.

At last, under the simultaneous leadership of Coleridge in England, and Schlegel in Germany, it was discovered that Shakespeare's plays had principles and laws, and that when the right central point was taken as the point of view, the seeming aberrations, as in the case of the planets, were all in conformity with law, and the strangest perturbations were the strongest confirmations of the real order. The dramas of Shakespeare were found to have not only a systematic plan and unity of structure, but one conceived and executed with profound art, though very different in construction from the classic models. This view has spread until there is now no literary conclusion more firmly established, no literary opinion more widely diffused, and the surge of the wave has beaten the name of Shakespeare indelibly into the highest tablet of fame.

What influence has he exerted upon the world? This is a question that must be asked and answered in regard to every eminent man. Every one, if asked the question in regard to Shakespeare, would say that his influence has been of course immense,—that it cannot but have been immense. Yet almost every one, we think, if asked to explain the convenient indefiniteness of that "of course," if asked to tell some particular way in which Shakespeare has much affected the world, would be very much puzzled to answer.

In the Essay on the Genius of Shakespeare, in the last volume of Richard Grant White's edition of Shakespeare,—an Essay, as a whole, most admirable for the completeness and good judgment with which it treats the subject,—some of our readers may have been surprised at seeing it asserted that *no* direct influence has been exerted by Shakespeare upon the great movements of the world; that they would have gone on without him very much as they have with him; that Shakespeare revealed no new truth, founded no school.

In this somewhat startling assertion there is a pretty large nucleus of truth. It is an extreme statement of a real fact. It is a fact, and a curious one, that Shakespeare's

direct influence in swaying and giving direction to the movement of the world has not been at all in proportion to his preëminence in reputation and genius. Properly considered, however, the fact does not diminish at all the estimate of Shakespeare's real influence. It is due to the universality of his genius, and the admirable balance of qualities and just poise of ideas in his works. This character of his works has caused their influence to be distributed pretty equally among all the different currents of progress, and to give simply a forward impulse to all without producing any deflection of path or any relative change of position among the different parts. His direct and apparent influence has been so little, precisely because his indirect influence has been so great. And as the acquisition of particular facts and truths is of far less value than the increase of mental power, so to have been such excitement to thought, to have given such universal, however indirect, propulsion to speculation and inquiry; to have exerted such a general stimulating effect upon men's minds throughout the last two centuries and a half, as Shakespeare undeniably has done; to have been—to use once more his own noble figure—the fountain to which other suns, repairing in their golden urns, have continually drawn light, is to have done more for the world than to have directly pushed forward some one branch of knowledge, or to have revealed some particular truths or set of truths.

But Shakespeare's influence has not been entirely of this indirect nature. Besides this immense indirect influence, a direct and special influence upon at least one movement of the world has been exerted by Shakespeare. If it may be said that he has founded no school, it is because the form of literary art, of which he is the great exemplar, like the method of scientific investigation which Bacon expounded, has had too much general acceptance for those who have adopted it to be distinguished as a *school*. If Shakespeare may be said to have revealed no new truth, it is only so, inasmuch as, like a true artist, he embodied his truths in living forms, leaving to others the work of setting them forth in philosophic statements.

We would ask our readers now to make a little detour

with us, in order that we may conduct them to the proper point of view for seeing what is this special influence which Shakespeare has exerted upon the movement of the world.

The form of art of an epoch must be in close correspondence with its life and its world. These are the materials which art has to build with. Moreover, it is only as an artistic form embodies in itself the principles of the culture of its age, as it contains the elements of the life of the age, that it can have general sympathy and appreciation. A great work is great in its time, and is passed on to posterity by virtue of being the crystallized essence of the spirit of that time. What, now, was the character of the world in which the classic drama came into existence, and what is the character of the modern world, and how far are the classic models forms appropriate to its spirit?

All around the Greek, through the transparent atmosphere, were pure, clear-cut lines of hill and horizon; over his head was the soft azure calm of that wonderful Grecian sky, to him a veritable solid dome, bounding the space above; below, the plain of the earth, enclosed by the stream of ocean.

Greece was the centre of the earth. Little more was known. Little more did the Greek care to know. All that was not Hellenic was barbarian. And as Greece kept apart from the rest of the world, so did each of the different little Grecian communities keep itself as isolated as it could. A jealous autonomy, not merely political, but commercial and social, was the pervading sentiment of each city. The feeling of devotion to the State, or rather city, was intense; the sentiment of the general welfare, or the cause of humanity, hardly existed. It has been remarked, that while the word for philanthropy in almost all the European languages is derived directly from the Greek, philanthropy should not have been at all a Greek custom, or common to Greek thought. The same may also be said of another favorite modern word, the word *sympathy*. The Greeks pass before us, like their gods, on their brows neither sorrow nor anger; in their eyes no speculation; self-sufficing, unheeding, unconscious of aught beside self, in the serene content of existence. With the same cold calmness, without foreboding, without long-



ing, they descend to Hades, obedient to the unavoidable summons of the Fates. Even the emotions of the Greek had something settled—something, it might almost be said, of repose in them. They were the agitations of objective emotion, of simple passions of the flesh or the affections, with an undisturbed depth beneath them; however great the ferment on the surface—not like the self-conflicts and agonies of soul-convulsing and breaking up of the deepest depth of being, which modern life sees.

The Greeks were set between a past too short, a future too long, to awaken consideration for either. The possession of slaves gave leisure for the ease and calm which air and sky invited to. Limited knowledge and experience gave simple and well-defined forms to ideas, and encouraged the habit of idealizing and a taste for ideals. Their very gods had the tangible shape and circumscribed limits of men. Greek life and culture, the classic world, then, was simple, limited, insulated, sharply defined, ideal, with a certain slowness of movement and calm. Ancient art and the classic drama, consequently, had these same traits. They were appropriately projected from such a world into its art. They were the forms into which its genius spontaneously moulded its creations.

Now turn to the modern world. It is a world entirely different in character. It is a world a thousandfold more extended, more complicated. New continents, country on country, nation after nation, each with its different traits, have been added to our knowledge and intercourse. The arched roof fretted with golden fire has opened into a boundless perspective where suns behind suns are the points that dot at immense intervals the infinitely receding space. Through the revelations of Christianity we see our life stretching beyond its earthly close to eternal length. With untiring enterprise and insatiable curiosity we explore every quarter of the globe, every fact of history and of life, every kind of existence, every branch of science. With profoundest questioning and fierce struggle we try to probe earth and heaven, man, self, God. And we find, or put, every event, question, fact, object, in relation to every other. Our world is an infinitely extended web of closest intermesh. The inorganic, the vege-

table, the animal world we see to be the complements of each other, subsisting by virtue of their conjunction, and we see their different members and elements to be all implicated, so that a movement in one sends its circling vibrations through all. A thousand interests knit man to man and nation to nation. We see star drawing star; we see common laws acting upon the microscopic mote and the most distant sun; the influences of Pleiades and the bands of Orion are no longer mere poetical figures, but the expressions of facts of science. And our Christian religion with its principles of the omnipresence and immanence of God through all this infinite Universe, His constant care of all his children, and the duty of reciprocal sympathy and helpfulness among all the Brotherhood of Man, gives its powerful encouragement to the same tendency, makes the fact a duty, and from the throne of duty extends and deepens the sway of the fact. Philanthropy, the general welfare, humanity, these are our watchwords. We are no more insulated in time than in space. We are conscious that we are closely compacted behind and before. We look back over the ages of the past as the successive stages of a slow up-climbing growth, a human coral reef, each inch a petrified generation, the aggregate of whose deposits thus far is the height of our age. We look forward into the future to see in anticipating vision the glorious advance of the work, to behold there its consummated perfection. The present is but the brief time during which not even a temporary ownership has fallen into our hands, but a moment's stewardship of the great work, and we hear simultaneously predecessors and posterity crying aloud to us to be true to the trust. So foreign to the modern world is the leisurely movement and repose of the ancient world that we bustle and drive even in our relaxation. What we aim at, is to do a half-dozen things at once, to be in a half-dozen places in a minute. An incessant unrest sways men hither and thither, haunted by doubts and misgivings, at discord with themselves. Uncomprehended longings agitate nations.

“*Infinite* passion and the pain  
Of *finite* hearts that yearn.”

There Robert Browning has struck the key of the great

ground-tone of modern feeling. As for ideals, the modern world has seen too many dissipated, has at once too much and too little knowledge for them to be favorites. Its taste is for the real with all its roughness, heterogeneousness, incompleteness.

Realism, rapidity of movement, the utmost variety of elements and complexity of structure, the closest entanglement and the farthest outreach of sympathies and relations on all sides, the inquietude of conflict with self and of unattainable aspirations,—these are the traits—the direct opposites of the traits of classic life,—these are the traits which distinguish the modern Christian world, and to which all the other branches of art, architecture, painting, music, have involuntarily conformed themselves, and to which literature most of all needs to be in correspondence. To mould and compress the larger products of the modern mind into forms so alien and so cramping as those of antique art, is like trying to make a Victoria Regia grow into the shape and size of a violet.

If even partial success is gained, it is gained at the cost of the destruction of the ethereal essence and vital spirit of that which undergoes the unnatural operation. Yet this was what the great French masters of the seventeenth century, fascinated by the beauty of the masterpieces of antiquity, attempted to do. With all their talents they could only, as was to be expected, galvanize the dead forms into an artificial life. Unfortunately, even this modicum of success, in conjunction with the influence of the ancient models and the classical *furor* that followed the revival of learning, was enough to give these alien forms for more than a century the sway of almost the whole literary world. They became the moulds of its thought, and stunted its most promising effort. In the pompous faded court-dress of poetical diction, feeling, truth and imagination found themselves helplessly and inexorably buried. In the close confinement of the unities and the “bien-seances,” imagination was stunted, the living representation of real life became impossible. The difficulties of outward form consumed in ingenious vanquishing of them the best energies of the mind.

The picture which the literature of the eighteenth century

presents, with Addison's *Cato* as "the most perfect of English Tragedies, Pope as the most elegant of poets," Voltaire the King of the French stage, and Gottschid the great luminary of German letters, was the natural fruit of such an unnatural graft. To break the paralyzing spell which the classic models exerted over literature for so long a time and awaken it to fruitful activity, there was needed some preëminent master to display, together with a genius superior to that of the classic authors, the example of a successful form of composition not bound by conventional restraints but conformed to the real characteristics of modern life.

This critical need Shakespeare met. With the true sympathy of genius Shakespeare had felt the tendency, the already emerging characteristics of modern life, and in his dramas he had stretched out the dimensions to the full breadth of the modern world; reproduced in them all its multitudinous diversity of forms and aspects, its intricate interweaving and limitless extension of action and reaction, its restless activity, its warring passions and infinite longings, and then secured the unity which art requires by blending all in "sweet contrast" and "divine responsiveness," like the hearse-like base and jocund carols, the soft breathings and clashing peals, the surging crescendos and dying diminuendos of one of Beethoven's Symphonies, into one full harmony.

Just as fast, consequently, as Shakespeare's works won the acknowledgment of their own artistic merit, just so fast they compelled a reconstruction of the principles of modern literary art, just so fast they have freed literature from the yoke of the French classical school, and from the blind reverence for antiquity that once threatened to crush life out of modern poetry, and just so fast they have led to the recognition of the true dramatic and poetic forms which are native to the spirit of modern culture. To this influence of Shakespeare's works, the rich crop of fresh and true poetical beauty, sympathetic to the feelings and in harmony with the ideas of modern life, which the last seventy-five years have added to the stores of English literature, is greatly owing. The connection between the recognition of the art of Shakespeare's dramas and the study of them in the new light, on the one

hand, and the Lake School and its relations to the traits which English poetry has taken on the last three-quarters of a century, on the other hand, needs only to be hinted at.

Germany is still more indebted to Shakespeare. Shakespeare's influence in evoking the famous *Sturion und Dornung* period, and in developing and giving direction to the new national and natural school of German literature of which those works were the commencement and Goethe's and Schiller's masterpieces the matured fruit, can hardly be over-estimated. Shakespeare was the victorious banner which Lessing waved in his onslaught upon the formality and artificiality of French classicism, the imitation of the imitation of which had so blasted German literature with sterility. A short extract from an Oration on Shakespeare delivered by the young Goethe before a club of fellow "Shakespeare bigots" will perhaps best give an idea of the enthusiasm which Shakespeare excited at that time. "The first page of his that I read," says Goethe, "made me his for life. And when I had finished a single play, I stood like one born blind on whom a miraculous hand bestows sight in a moment \*\*\* I did not hesitate for a moment about renouncing the classical drama. The unity of place seemed to me irksome as a prison; the unities of action and of time burthensome fetters upon the imagination. I sprang into the air, and for the first time felt that I had hands and feet. And now that I see how much injury the men of rule did me in their dungeon, and how many free souls still crouch there, my heart would burst if I did not declare war against them, and did not seek daily to batter down their towers."

Later, in giving an account of the origin of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, his first great work, Goethe assigned the "expansion of his mind produced by an increasing interest in Shakespeare," as a principal cause. The elder Schlegel called Schiller's *Robbers* a direct imitation of some parts of *Richard the III.* Though it is hardly fair to call it that, yet it may be said that there is an evident attempt to seize upon Shakespeare's manner as a whole, and that not only this but all Schiller's Dramas, however varying in form, are more or less of the school of Shakespeare. There was hardly an author of the

period eminent in German literature who did not give Shakespeare some service, either that of translation, commentary, study or imitation. In addition to the names of Goethe and Schiller, those of Wieland, Tieck, and the two Schlegels will readily suggest themselves. To all the young Germans of that day trying to escape from the house of bondage of French classicism, Shakespeare was the guide whose lead they followed to the land of Nature and of Freedom.

Half a century later, we find Shakespeare rendering the same service to young France. It was the performance of several of Shakespeare's plays in Paris, in 1827, by a company of English actors, from which Alexander Dumas dates the awaking of the genius to dramatic composition. It revealed to him a new life. It inspired him and several of his friends with the resolution of working in the French stage the reform which it so much needed, and determined their course into the channel of romanticism. The members of the *Cenacle* made Shakespeare the object of devoted study and enthusiastic admiration. Albert de Vigny and Victor Hugo, the other two triumvirs of L'Ecole romantique, have both published translations of Shakespeare's plays. As before to Lessing and his coadjutors, so now to the writers in the Globe Shakespeare was the strong defence and magazine of arms in their insurrection against the narrow critical canons of classicism.

Here, then, in this work of Shakespeare's in exciting and impelling the literary revolution which has swept successively over England, Germany and France with such happy results;—the revolution to which we owe it that poetry has no longer to pattern after the Cid and Athalie and Aristotle's rules, but have been sent to search after and garner up whatever is freshest, strongest, deepest, most suggestive, of most power to charm or touch the heart of man in its manifold capabilities and mysterious phases, and is left free to choose as its embodying form whatever one will best exhibit the contents and best body forth the spirit of its theme and the breath of its time,—in Shakespeare's work in exciting and in compelling this revolution in literary art, is, in

addition to the great general indirect influence which has been his, a most powerful *direct* influence which he has exerted upon a most important movement of the human mind; and in the establishment of the fundamental difference between the requirements of ancient and modern art and of the true dramatic and poetic forms which are natural expressions of modern life, is a valuable truth for which also we are indebted to Shakespeare.

Three centuries ago, Shakespeare first opened his eyes upon the spectacle of this earth. Of the world of that day there is now very little that the mists of time have not sadly obscured. Its wars, questions, monarchs, statesmen, are remembered not much more than by name. The authors who were Shakespeare's contemporaries are chiefly known by the reflection of his own fame. We talk of Beaumont and Fletcher, "Marlowe's mighty line," and "dainty Lyly" and "rare Ben Jonson," but there are very few that ever read them. Even on Spenser and Bacon has the same fate in great measure fallen. But Shakespeare is as fresh as ever, more living than ever. Poet after poet has succeeded him, poets of great and varied genius. But there is none of them that, compared with him, will not serve to exhibit more conspicuously the unsurpassable proportions of Shakespeare's heaven-touching and myriad-peaked structure. He has invaded every part of Christendom, he has penetrated the Orient, he goes wherever Englishmen or the English language can gain a foothold, and everywhere he commands a unanimous all-hail! But this is but the happy prologue of the imperial theme. Its swelling act is still to come. Every year greatens his sway. He has done more than "bated the scythe's dull edge" of "cormorant-devouring time." He has made the dread weapon his tool; its master, his minister. And when Macaulay's prophesied New Zealander shall stand by the ruins of London's bridges, Shakespeare's structures shall still shine forth in unblemished beauty, fresh and strong as the most ancient heavens!

- Art. III.—1. *Histoire médicale des maladies épidémiques.* OZANAM, Paris.
2. *Rapport à l'Académie de médecine au nom de la commission de la peste et des quarantaines.* Paris, Baillière.
3. *Treatise on Febrile Diseases.* DR. WILSON. London.
4. *A brief History of Epidemical and Pestilential Diseases.* By NOAH WEBSTER, London.
5. *An Inquiry into the Laws of Epidemics.* By J. ADAMS.
6. *On Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases.* MACLEAN.
7. *On the Remote Cause of Epidemic Disease.* DR. JOHN PARKER. London.

LET man boast as he will of his knowledge, there will always be many of the phenomena of nature which he cannot understand. This it is idle to deny, for nothing is more easily proved. Accordingly, it is those who know most that are most willing to admit that there are many things of which they are ignorant. If we examine the works of the greatest thinkers, we shall find, in nine cases out of ten, that in proportion as their researches have been extensive and profound, have they been modest and unassuming in communicating the results of those researches; if, upon the other hand, we examine the works of smatterers and charlatans, we shall find that their arrogance and pretensions are boundless.

In nothing is this contrast more forcibly illustrated than in comparisons of the moderns with the ancients. Philosophers like Copernicus, Newton, Leibnitz, and Kepler, do justice to the ancients; instead of affecting to despise them, they express their admiration for the results they attained in science and the arts, as well as in literature and oratory, and give them credit for much that must have been destroyed by the ravages of time. But it cannot seem strange after all, on reflection, that those who are no philosophers pursue the opposite course; they have not taken the trouble to investigate; and because they do not know what the ancients were, they take it for granted that they could not have been otherwise than ignorant, seeing that they lived at such a remote



period of the world—so long anterior to the great improvements made in modern times.

That the medical faculty are by no means exempt from this weakness, is but too well known; they are afflicted with it just in proportion as their knowledge and talents are limited. The greatest physicians, like the greatest astronomers, have studied the ancients; they could not have done so without admiring them, and accordingly they do them homage as benefactors. This is true, for example, of Sydenham, Cullen, Hunter, Boerhaave, and Abernethy; men whose superior knowledge of the healing art is beyond question. Inferior physicians have also written on medicine; many do so at the present day; but what do they teach us?—what report do they make? If we are to believe them, the best who practised medicine before their time were but blunderers, although a few were doubtless very respectable, considering that they had the misfortune of living in a benighted age. Whatever their knowledge was, however, it was but ignorance compared to that of the physicians of the present day. It follows, then, that if pestilences do not rage now as they used formerly, it is because the modern physician knows so much more than the ancient physician; nay, it would seem as if the plague and other malignant maladies were aware of this superiority on the part of our modern physicians, and therefore stayed away, knowing that they could not expect to obtain any foot-hold in the midst of so much knowledge!

None have higher respect for the medical faculty than we; and we could mention physicians in our principal cities who would compare favorably in professional knowledge and skill with the best in the world. At the same time, far from agreeing with the arrogant class of writers alluded to, we think that no science has been less improved by the moderns than that of medicine. If it were possible to confront the most learned physicians of Europe and America with Hippocrates, Galen, Aetius, Paulus Aegineta, Aretæus and Celsus, we are convinced that the latter could show that the boasted "modern improvements" are not of much importance after all, and that if epidemics do not rage now so destructively as they used formerly, it is not be-

cause modern physicians have a superior mode of treating them.

Those who boast of the great progress made in medical science seem entirely to overlook the fact that epidemics have raged in the ancient as well as in the modern world at very unequal intervals. Sometimes centuries passed without any general epidemic of a particularly destructive character; at other times several epidemics occurred in the course of one century, nay, in the course of a decade. In all Greek literature we only read of two epidemics—one at Troy and the other at Athens. Homer beautifully alludes to the former in the first book of the *Iliad*,\* and Thucydides graphically describes the latter.† We have also accounts of epidemics which occurred at Rome and Carthage alternately; but the worst that mankind appear to have suffered from since the plagues of Egypt recorded in the Old Testament, were those of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century (1720) the plague committed frightful ravages in Europe. If it has not since appeared in the West, it is by no means certain that it never will again, since it had previously been absent more than once for a much longer interval, and then raged with redoubled fury.

That the advance of civilization exercises a powerful influence in staying the progress of epidemics, is beyond question; there is no better preventive of the spread of disease than cleanliness; nor can anything contribute more powerfully to disseminate an infectious or contagious disease than filthiness. This fact is proclaimed by writers of the present day as a great discovery, whereas it was insisted upon by Hippocrates more than two thousand years ago. Judging by the reports of modern Boards of Health, one would suppose that the virtue of cleanliness had never been thought of before their time; whereas the truth is, that far more attention was paid to it not only by the Greeks and Romans, but by the Jews of Moses' time. Each of the former had been

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\* Lib. i. 50.

† *De Bello Pelopon.*, lib. ii.

in the habit for ages of taking their daily baths. Those baths were provided at the public expense for all classes ; none were so poor but that they could bathe daily, and those who failed to do so were stigmatized as filthy and lazy.

But can this be said of the happy people of the present day ? What proportion even of those called the respectable class bathe daily, or even weekly ? It is to be presumed that those who take care to keep themselves clean, will not allow their residences or even streets to become filthy ; it will be admitted at least that they are more likely to keep their houses and streets clean than those who are too indolent to wash themselves. Judged by this test, the Greeks and Romans should be regarded as at least as clean as any modern people. But we have not to depend on mere inference ; sufficient of their works still remain to prove that they took far more care of the public health in their large cities than modern corporations do. Their system of sewerage alone would afford sufficient evidence on this point ; let any one capable of the task compare it with certain systems in use at the present day, and then say how much we are indebted to modern improvements in cleanliness for the immunity which we enjoy from the desolating pestilences of former times. Those who thus reflect and examine the records of the past will readily admit that there are other causes for this immunity ; that if we do not suffer as our ancestors did it is not because we are so vastly superior to them as our mutual admiration societies would have us believe.

When Homer tells us that Apollo afflicted the Grecian army with a grievous pestilence because Agamemnon had insulted his priest, he simply means that the heat of the sun (Apollo) was unusually intense, that sanitary measures had been neglected in the Grecian camp, and that a pestilence was the result. In this allegorical language the poet embodies precisely the same views expressed by Hippocrates in his Aphorisms. Nor is this the only instance in which Homer illustrates the views of the father of medicine. In several instances the poet attributes epidemics to certain conditions of the atmosphere. Thus :

"As vapours blown by Anster's sultry breath,  
Pregnant with plagues, and shedding seeds of death,  
Beneath the rage of burning Sirius rise."

*Pope's Translation, Book v. 1058.*

Again:

"Not half so dreadful rises to the sight,  
Through the thick gloom of some tempestuous night,  
Orion's dog (the year when autumn sways),  
And o'er the feeble stars exerts his rays:  
Terrific glory! for his burning breath  
Taints the red air with fevers, plagues, and death."\*

*Ib., Book xxii. 37.*

Hippocrates also frequently indulges in metaphorical language; he occasionally speaks of the atmosphere as of a divinity, on account of the wonderful influence which it exercises on all nature. For this he is denounced by some of our modern sages as "superstitious," although Galen, who wrote nearly two thousand years ago, fully explains his meaning, proving that his great master was not superstitious, but that he was in the habit of using the term *divine* (τὸ θεῖον) in the sense of wonderful and admirable; not in the sense of inscrutable or hidden.† Cullen and Hunter understood Hippocrates in the same light; so does Sydenham, whom his countrymen style, not undeservedly, the modern Hippocrates. Like his master, the great English physician thought that the public health was much more dependent on atmospheric changes than on unusual heat, cold, or any other cause. "For the constitutions of different years," he says, "are various; yet they do not depend upon the degree of heat or cold, of dryness or humidity, which accompanies them, but probably result from some *occult* and *inexplicable* changes wrought in the bowels of the earth itself, by which the atmosphere is contaminated with certain effluvia, which pre-

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ἀρίζηλοι δέ αἱ αἰθρᾶι

φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἑστρασι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ·

"Ὅν τε κύν' Ὀρίωνος ἐπικλησιν καλέουσιν

λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅγ' ἐστὶ κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,

καὶ τε φέρεי πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·

† Non quæcunque causas habent abditas et obscuras *divina* vocamus; sed ubi admirabilia videntur duntaxat.

dispose the bodies of men to one or other form of disease. This predisposition continues during the prevalence of the same constitution, which in an uncertain period of time is superseded by another." \*

But to the philosophers of the present day nothing is "occult" or "inexplicable;" therefore Hippocrates, Galen, Sydenham, and others like them, who admit that there are some things which they do not understand, must be wrong! Be this as it may, it is certain that the testimony of all the great historians of ancient and modern times strongly favors the theory that the atmospheric influence is the most powerful in producing epidemics, for by no other theory can the fact be accounted for that pestilences frequently attack the lower animals before they attack man; and there have been not a few instances of the vegetable kingdom having been smitten with a general blight before any animals were known to suffer. In speaking of one of the great epidemics that prevailed at Rome, Livy tells us that "the pestilence which the year before had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized with it seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive lingered under a tedious disorder which generally turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest among the slaves, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. Nor were there conductors of funerals sufficient to bury even the people of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed that during that and the previous year, while the mortality of *cattle and men* was so great, no vultures were anywhere to be seen." †

The same historian speaks of several other epidemics whose characteristics fully sustain the views of Hippocrates as interpreted and sanctioned by Galen and Sydenham. Referring to the pestilence which broke out in both armies during the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus, 213 B. C., Livy tells us that it occurred not in the warm weather of summer, but in the

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\* *De Morbis Epidem.*, Sect. 1. cap. 2.

† Livy, lib. xli. c. 21.

coolness of autumn. "At first," he says, "persons sickened and died *owing to the unwholesomeness of the place*; afterwards the disease spread by infection, so that those who were seized were neglected or abandoned, and died, or their attendants contracted the disease." \* Nor is there anything in Thucydides' description of the plague at Athens that leads to a different conclusion.†

Of all American writers who have written on epidemics the one who has most fully investigated their causes is Noah Webster. It is true that some of his theories are rather fanciful; but in general the conclusions at which he arrives are sound. Mr. Webster carries his "pestilential principle" a little too far, for he attributes to it the origin, not only of epidemics, but also of earthquakes, volcanoes, and meteors; and he is of opinion that it is strongly influenced by comets. "All the comets," he says, "which have approached this earth in their passage to and from the sun, especially those which have passed very near us, have been preceded, attended, and followed by most extraordinary effects, as great heat and drought in summer, and severe cold in winter; deluging rains, violent tempests and unusual tides. They occur so uniformly with the appearance of these bodies, and for some months preceding and following, as to leave no room to question the influence from which they proceed." ‡

This is attributing rather much to the comets; at the same time, the author must not be sneered at for it, although the most eminent astronomers and physicians of the present day deny that those bodies exercise any appreciable influence for good or evil, either on the earth or its inhabitants. We are bound to remember that astronomers and physicians of much greater eminence entertained the opposite view, including Kepler and Boerhaave. It is true that neither regarded the comets as entirely so potent in their influence on the earth as Noah Webster maintains, but both, and many others, believed that they certainly cause some "commo-

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\* Livy, lib. xxv. 26.

† *De Bello Pelopon.*, lib. 11.

‡ Brief Hist. of Epidem. & Pestilent. Diseases, vol. ii. p. 22.

tions" on the earth. But altogether independently of the views of others on the subject, the opinion of Webster is entitled to consideration, from the careful and extensive researches of which it is the result; for he presents us an accurate historical account of all the great pestilences, ancient and modern, on record, together with a large mass of statistics and other facts illustrative of their characteristics. Those who have not taken such pains, but merely depend on what others think, have no right to condemn a conclusion arrived at by such means. But whether Webster is right or wrong in his opinion of the influence of comets, it is certain that there is much force in his reasoning on the cause of epidemics. "One thing," he says, "is very evident; that what I denominate a pestilential principle does at certain times pervade, not only the element of air, but the water also. The proofs of this are abundantly numerous and convincing. In all the great plagues which have afflicted the human race, other animals, as horses, cattle, sheep, sometimes cats, dogs, and fowls, together with the fish in rivers and the ocean, and even vegetables, have borne their share in the calamity. The pestilential principle has extended to every species of life. The beasts of the field perish with deadly epidemics; the fish die on the bottom of rivers and the sea, or become lean and sickly; while corn is blasted on the most fertile plains, and the fruits in gardens and orchards wither, or fail to arrive at their usual state of perfection."\*

These are strange facts; to many almost incredible; but they are nevertheless true. What then becomes of the "stamping out" theory of our modern boards of health? It may be very absurd to attribute our epidemics to the comets; but it is hardly less so to attribute them to the condition of the streets and of the houses of the poor in large cities. That this condition exercises a powerful influence is, as we have already remarked, very true. Filth not only increases the virulence of a disease when it exists; it frequently engenders disease. But it is by no means the sole cause of epidemics; it can hardly be pretended that it is filth that causes pesti-

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\* Hist. of Epidemics, vol. ii. p. 152.

lences among cattle alike on extensive plains and mountains; it is not filth that causes the birds of the air to die by thousands; it is not filth that produces a similar mortality among the fish of the sea; much less is it filth that causes vegetables to wither with mildew; for even the most disgusting kinds of it rather improve than injure them.

It is, indeed, highly laudable to encourage cleanliness among the poor; neither the lawgiver nor the moralist can devote his energies to a better object; for whoever teaches people to observe cleanliness in their habits elevates their tastes, and consequently their aspirations. The most pious commentators on the Bible admit that the laws of Moses, which enjoin cleanliness as a religious duty, were promulgated with a view to their moral and sanitary influence. At the same time, Moses does not say, like our modern philosophers, that cleanliness affords protection from epidemics; and much less does the great lawgiver pretend that epidemics can be "stamped out" according to the modern fashion. The history of those diseases proves that in a thousand instances they have committed their ravages in towns and cities at periods when most attention was paid to cleanliness; whereas, upon the other hand, the same towns and cities have enjoyed complete immunity when most filthy.

It is well known that the most contagious and malignant diseases have often ceased their ravages as suddenly as they made their attacks—filth having accumulated in the meantime. This has occurred at all seasons; during the heat of summer as well as the cold of winter. Even the cholera has disappeared from many large and crowded cities in the hottest weather, although, in general, heat seems favorable to its propagation. The plague, the most malignant and contagious of all diseases, has often disappeared with equal suddenness, and during the accumulation of an unusual amount of filth. When it first appeared in London the magistrates issued an order, which was approved by the College of Physicians, for the strict imprisonment of the sick, or of those supposed to be sick, in their own houses. This was accomplished by watchmen, who attended night and day at the doors or the infected houses, and this was continued for at least a



month after all the inmates were dead or recovered. In order that all should avoid the doomed house it was ordered to be "marked with a red cross of a foot long, in the middle of the door, evident to be seen, and with these usual printed words, that is to say, *Lord have mercy upon us*, to be set close over the same cross, there to continue until the lawful opening of the same house." \*

This cruel and barbarous treatment would seem incredible were it not fully attested by historians. "From that moment," says Lingard, "the house was closed; all egress for the space of one month was inexorably refused, and the wretched inmates were doomed to remain under the same roof, communicating death one to another. Of these many sunk under the horrors of their situation; others, driven by despair, eluded the vigilance or corrupted the fidelity of the watchmen, and by their escape, instead of avoiding, served to disseminate the contagion." †

During the months of July and August "the weather was sultry, the heat more and more oppressive." It was therefore generally thought that the plague was caused by the unusual heat, and accordingly it was expected that as soon as the weather grew cool the pestilence would disappear. Experience proved, however, that this was a mistake. "September came," says Lingard; "the heat of the atmosphere began to abate; but contrary to expectation, the mortality *increased*. Formerly a hope of recovery might be indulged; now infection was the certain harbinger of death, which followed generally in the course of three days, often within the space of twenty-four hours." ‡

It may be said that this increased virulence and destructiveness was caused by the accumulated filth. That the filth had accumulated is beyond doubt; but it is equally unquestionable that it was not the sole or even the chief cause of this increase. More than ten thousand persons died during

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\* *Orders by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen concerning the Infection of the Plague, 1665.*

† Lingard's *Hist. of England*, O'Shea's edition, New York, vol. xi. p. 283.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 286.

the week ending September 20—a much larger mortality than that of any week during the sultry, oppressive heat of summer. Even the authorities began to despair at seeing the disease spreading and becoming more and more fatal as the weather became cool; and if they had been ever so energetically inclined, it was impossible to get men for love or money to clean the infected streets. But while despair pervaded all classes, the disease suddenly ceased its ravages; so that in a few weeks those who fled with terror began to return with joy and confidence. “Many who made most haste in retiring,” says Dr. Hodges, “made the most to return, and came into the city without fear; the houses which were before full of the dead, were now again inhabited by the living; the shops which had been most part of the year shut up, were again opened, and the people again cheerfully went about their wonted affairs of trade and employ; and even what is almost beyond belief, those citizens who before were afraid even of their friends and relations, would, without fear, venture into the houses and rooms where infected persons had but a little before breathed their last; nay, such comforts did inspire the languishing people, and such confidence, that *many went into the beds where persons had died, before they were even cold, or cleansed from the stench of the diseased.*” \*

There was no “stamping out” here; the most ordinary precautions were neglected, yet the disease continued to decline, and in a short time disappeared altogether; thus fully verifying the views of Hippocrates, Galen, Sydenham, &c. The “occult and inexplicable changes” had taken place in the atmosphere; the “pestilential principle” had become exhausted, the atmosphere had resumed its normal condition, and the public health was restored. It is true that this restoration took place earlier in clean districts than in those in which cleanliness was neglected; in other words, the disease continued to rage in filthy districts long after it had entirely disappeared in districts in which cleanliness was observed. Individuals also who were cleanly and temperate in their habits were much less liable to the disease than those

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\* Loimologia, or Historical Account of the Plague in 1665. By Dr. Hodges.

of the opposite character, as we shall show more particularly before we close. But no intelligent person who devoted any attention to the characteristics of the malady, pretended that even the utmost cleanliness and the utmost temperance afforded immunity from its attacks.

Hippocrates taught also that, although next to exercise, nothing is more conducive to health than cleanliness, contagious diseases spread much more by means of the intercourse of the infected with each other, than by ordinary lack of attention to cleanliness; and we have some curious illustrations of the fact in histories of epidemics. Thus, for example, the magistrates of Ferrara, seeing in 1630, when their city was visited by the plague, that the habit of shutting up the sick in their houses to prevent the spread of the disease, had the opposite effect in Florence, Pisa, and Milan, resolved to adopt a different course. As soon as they were informed that a person had died of the plague in their city, they immediately removed the whole family to a lazaretto, where all, seven in number, died. But we are informed that although the disease was thus malignant, it went no further. During the year a similar case occurred seven or eight times, and the same course put a stop to the progress of the disease.

Cardinal Gastaldi adopted a similar plan at Rome in 1657. The pope appointed him commissary general of health, with full powers to pursue whatever course he deemed best. At this time the plague had been raging in the city, at intervals, for nearly two years, never entirely ceasing its ravages. Every possible effort had been made to cleanse the streets; disinfecting agents of all kinds were tried; the public streets were redolent of chloride of lime; the churches and monasteries were turned into hospitals; still the disease continued its deadly work. At length the cardinal caused a lazaretto to be constructed in the Island of the Tiber; to this he ordered all infected persons to be sent on the first notice. Those who resided in the same house with them were carefully examined by three physicians employed for that purpose; any found ill were sent to the island, and the remainder were sent to other hospitals, which were also without the city. If any took ill at these, they were imme-

diately removed to the island. There were recovery hospitals besides; these were five miles from the city, situated on hills, and carefully guarded. The result of this course was almost incredible. In little more than two months the city was entirely free from the plague. Under the old system scarcely any of the inmates escaped when the disease entered a house, but it was now found that very few of those removed in a healthy state contracted the malady.\*

There is no doubt that the pains taken to cleanse Ferrara and Rome in these two instances as a means of combating the prevailing epidemic, saved the lives of thousands, although they seemed to have failed. Had Ferrara been in an unusually filthy state, or had it been as filthy as other cities were at the same time, the removal of a few infected families would hardly have saved it; and Cardinal Gastaldi readily admits that the attention given to cleanliness at Rome during the six months immediately preceding his accession to office, contributed not a little to crown his efforts with success. He tells us at the same time that it was sufficiently obvious that cleanliness alone would not have banished the disease; that if no other means had been employed, it was more than probable the disease would have lingered in the city for years. But the people of Naples might have said the same, had they pursued a similar course. It was their boast that they used no artifice to purify either their goods or their houses, that instead of having been forced to cleanliness by the plague, like their neighbors, they had never neglected cleanliness so much as during its prevalence, and yet the disease ceased among them quite as suddenly and as completely as it had in those cities in which the strictest laws were enacted and enforced, requiring all to aid directly or indirectly in purifying the atmosphere, and removing every vestige of matter declared by the board of health to be offensive or unwholesome.†

It is not alone the plague that has exhibited these anoma-

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\* See Dr. Heberdeen, *On the Increase and Decrease of Diseases*. 1801. P. 180.

† Gastaldi, *De Avertenda Peste*, cap. 10.

lies. The cholera has appeared and disappeared in many cities in Europe, Asia, and America, without affording the slightest evidence of its being influenced by the condition of those cities; in many instances it has proved most virulent and fatal where there was no filth of any kind, as among an army on the march, which did not remain the second night in any one place, and which always chose the most wholesome spot for its camp. Dr. Scott, editor of the Reports of the Madras Medical Board, remarks that "when Cholera is once established in a marching regiment, it continues its course *in spite of change of position, food, or other circumstances*. Its approach to a town has been traced from village to village, and its first appearance in a town has been in that quarter which was nearest the track of its progress." \*

The same writer observes that "the prisoners in a jail enclosed by a high wall, have escaped, while it prevailed all around them." None could pretend that it was superior cleanliness, or superior ventilation, that saved the inmates of an Asiatic jail; but similar instances of immunity have been observed in nearly all the great cities of Europe. In Paris, students have been attacked with cholera and cut off in large numbers, in the cleanest and best ventilated schools; while crowds of laboring men engaged at the dirtiest work in close, ill-ventilated factories in the same neighborhood entirely escaped the disease. If we trace the ravages of the disease through the different cities of Europe, we shall find that the cleanest and best regulated have in many instances suffered much more in proportion to their population than the filthiest. There is perhaps no city in the world kept in better order than Paris; it has enjoyed this distinction for several centuries. Upon the other hand, Constantinople has been distinguished during the same period for being more filthy than any other European city; yet it is beyond question that its citizens have suffered far less from cholera than those of Paris.† This will seem the

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\* Madras Reports, p. xlviii.

† "Comme toute autre, cette maladie a ses périodes d'invasion, d'accroissement et de déclin; comme presque toutes, elle est sujette à des rémittences, à des recrudescences. On se souviendra longtemps à Paris qu'en 1832 le choléra

more incredible to those who believe in the "stamping out" theory of our modern philosophers, when they bear in mind that the religion of the Turks prevents them from adopting the most ordinary precautions for their protection during the prevalence of the most violent epidemics. Believing that none will die of the disease, nay, that none will be attacked by it, except that fate had been ordained for them before the foundation of the world, they look around on its ravages with the utmost indifference. It is true that some Turks are as much afraid of contagion and as anxious to avoid death as any other people; but persons of this character are regarded not only as cowards, but as infidels. Yet the most contagious epidemics, including the cholera, frequently disappear from among them as suddenly as they have attacked them. If the plague has appeared oftener and more recently in Constantinople, and remained longer than in any other city, it should be remembered that the disease is endemic in several parts of the Ottoman Empire.

But it is not of the plague our people are afraid, but of the cholera and yellow fever, and therefore it is to the latter we must devote most attention, although it by no means follows that because the plague is yet unknown in America it will never visit us. No matter which of the recognized authorities on cholera we consult, we shall find that none of them countenance the stamping out theory; all admit that when the disease makes its appearance in a malignant form in any town or city, it cannot be prevented from running its course.\* None deny that attention to cleanliness and other sanitary measures exercises a favorable influence on the disease, but it is not more superstitious to encourage a belief in amulets and charms as affording protection from the

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étendit rapidement ses ravages du 26 mars au 11 avril; qu'après être resté quelques jours stationnaire, il décréut ensuite et devint à la fois moins commun et moins meurtrier." Ozanam, *Hist. Méd. des maladies epidém.* vol. xi. p. 89.

\* "Sous le point de vue des expositions et des localités, le choléra sembla se jouer des prévisions humaines; et, en effet, ce fut souvent dans les villages les plus salubres et les mieux exposés qu'il se plut à exercer ses ravages, tandis qu'il laissa à peine quelques traces de son passage dans des lieux signalés comme des foyers d'infection." M. Duponchel.

disease than to pretend that water and chloride of lime possess similar virtues.

When the cholera first visited Berlin, that city was the cleanest in Europe; no other city had adopted more careful precautions; yet no city suffered more. Dr. Becker, one of its most eminent physicians, on being written to for information on the subject, writes, as follows, to the London Board of Health, September 29th, 1831. "The appearance of the disease in Berlin, and the manner in which it has spread, is also very remarkable, and affords supplementary evidence in favor of contagion. The conclusion at which I have arrived is, that the efficient cause of the Asiatic, or malignant cholera, is always a virus the production of human effluvia, and which, according to common medical language, undoubtedly deserves the name of a contagious principle; but that this virus, in order to produce the disease, requires first, like the contagion of the small-pox, measles, typhus fever, and even the plague, *a disposition of the atmosphere* favorable to its development; and secondly, a peculiar disposition of the animal economy in every person who is exposed to it. This disposition seems to be brought on by previous disease, particularly bowel complaints, by excessive fatigue, cold, errors in diet, drunkenness, fear, &c. A young physician has been one of the first victims of the cholera, a decided anti-contagionist; he *carelessly exposed himself*, died, and as if his case was to be a warning proof of the fallacy of his opinions, his death was immediately followed by that of his landlord and two children, and the illness of the servant-maid in the house, the only instances of the disease in the street.\*"

The most eminent medical authorities of all countries in which the disease has committed its wonted ravages, bear testimony to similar facts. The history of the cholera as it prevailed in Russia, shows that towns and cities which might be regarded as "plague spots," were they judged according to their attention or rather inattention to cleanliness, either escaped altogether or suffered but very slightly; while those

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\* See Medical Gazette, London, November 12th, 1831.

who made the most extensive preparations for "stamping out," suffered frightfully. In commenting on these facts, Dr. Riemann, of St. Petersburg, who was head physician of the Board of Health during the prevalence of the epidemic in that city, makes the following remarks: "The cholera was brought to Astrachan by ships, and it has spread itself over Russia from Astrachan by the emigration of the inhabitants, principally those of the lower orders. This is the chief cause of its propagation in Russia; it has never shown itself in any case except where it has been brought by travellers who came from infected places. We have not a single instance of a town or village, which, without communication with houses or persons affected, has contracted the disease. Several places, surrounded by the disease, have preserved themselves from it *by a rigid insulation*." \*

A clergyman, who witnessed the ravages of the cholera at Saratoff, speaks of it as follows: "In the very commencement of the epidemic, all our four surgeons were seized with it; two died on their journey to Torretzin, and one here. This moment fear and anguish took possession of the public mind. They who could flee from the city fled; and as the malady was not considered contagious, servants, laborers, Tartars, and Russians, were permitted to rush into the country. My congregation, which consisted of 550 individuals, was reduced to 150. Many of the fugitives died on the road, and spread the disease whithersoever they went. From the 10th of August, the malady increased in virulence; the daily mortality of 4 rose to 5, 12, 20, 80, 120, 200, and one day to 260, and *decreased in the same gradual mode*." †

It is generally admitted that no European city enjoys better health, in general, than St. Petersburg; nor is any city kept cleaner. But the cholera seems to have favored it but little on this account. Drs. Russell and Barry tell us in their report of the epidemic of 1831, that the infectious nature of the disease was shown not only by the manner in which it was propagated in various quarters, but also by its

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\* Vide Copland's Med. Dict. Harper's edition. vol. iii. p. 125.

† Quarterly Review, for November, 1831.



exclusion by a rigid insulation from places which seemed calculated above all others to invite its ravages. All public institutions which were not insulated were attacked, including prisons, hospitals, academies, &c.; whereas those that were insulated, or with which none from the infected districts were permitted to have intercourse, entirely escaped. This was true of the Military Academy at Cronstadt. There were 150 pupils in the Academy, together with a large number of officers of various grades, sailors, servants, &c. On the 19th of June, shortly after the disease making its appearance in the city, the gates of the institution were closed, and as strict a quarantine as possible maintained until the 6th of August (O. S.). The result was that not a single case occurred among the pupils, while the disease continued to rage on every side of them—and often so near that they could hear the moans of the sufferers. Dr. Russell, one of the editors of the St. Petersburg reports, writes a letter to a medical friend in London, in which he mentions the following facts: “The son of a villager in the government of Pensa, who was coachman to a nobleman at fifty versts distance, died of cholera; the father went to the place to collect the effects of the son, and brought home with him his clothes, which he put on and wore a day or two after his arrival at his native village. He was shortly thereafter seized with cholera, and died of it; three women, who had watched him in sickness and washed his body after death, were also seized and died of the disease. The doctor arrived in time to see the fourth case; and finding that the disease spread on that side of the village, he had the streets barricaded on the side where it had not reached, and interdicted all communication between the two sides of the village. In that side in which the disease first broke out, upward of 100 cases of cholera occurred, of which 45 died; but it did not appear on the other side of the barricade.” \*

If we direct our attention to the first appearance of the disease in our own country, we shall find that it committed its ravages in a manner equally independent of “the stamp-

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\* London Med. Gazette, for November, 1831.

ing out" theory. Although the notions of our boards of health were somewhat peculiar then as well as they are now, or at least were a year or two since; that is, they thought the disease could not have been introduced except through the means of some intemperate or filthy person. Thus, it first appeared in New York on the 26th of June, 1832; and we are gravely informed, on the authority of the Board of Health of that day, that "the patient, *an intemperate Irishman*, had not been out of the city for some weeks, but was attacked after a debauch and falling into the dock. He came under our care, and died at the Medical mansion in Greenwich Street."\*

According to the Board of Health, the city would probably have remained free from the disease had it not been for this "intemperate Irishman;" although it had been raging in Quebec for two weeks previously. But no matter how it was introduced, it attained its climax in twenty seven days; and then in the midst of the warm, sultry weather towards the close of July, it began to decline in a manner equally unaccountable. All the intemperate Irishmen who had fallen into the dock and were after a debauch had probably been carried off by the disease at this time! Be this as it may, eight days after its appearance in New York some cases of it appeared in Philadelphia, namely, on the 5th of July; but according to Professor Jackson it did not assume the epidemic form until the 29th. On the 6th of August it attained its acme; and then rapidly declined, although the weather was warm, humid and sultry—in every respect such as is supposed to aid most powerfully in propagating the disease.

In the course of one month the disease reached most of the cities of the United States, including Baltimore and Washington. It did not appear in cities according as they were supposed to be healthy, clean, well-regulated, or the reverse, but according as they were near New York, or according as their intercourse with that city was extensive. Thus, for example, it reached Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington, Madison and Mayaville the first week in October, appearing in the nearest the first day of the month; whereas it was

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\* See *Copland's Medical Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 127.

near the close of the month when it reached New Orleans, which is supposed to be the most unhealthy city in the United States; and it is certainly not remarkable for its cleanliness.

But let us recall how it visited Charleston. On the 31st of October, 1832, the brig *Amelia*, bound to New Orleans from New York, was wrecked on Folly Island, about twenty miles from Charleston. Some of the passengers were laboring under cholera. All were landed safely, and placed in well-ventilated houses and in tents. Every possible attention was paid to them, but they continued to sicken and die. A boat's crew came from Charleston to save the cargo; one of them took the cholera and died. The remainder of the crew were sent back to the island to perform quarantine with those landed from the brig; one became ill on the way and died in the boat. Three physicians were sent from the city to attend the sick; also a guard to enforce the quarantine. The whole crew of wreckers consisted of thirteen men; eleven contracted the disease; and eight died of it. A nurse who attended the first of the wreckers that died, took the disease and was sent to the island, where he died. Two of the three physicians took the cholera. There were but four negroes on the island when the infected brig arrived; all were seized with the disease and three died.\*

It could not be said that it was filth, intemperance, or debauchery that gave the disease a foot-hold in Folly Island, yet it proved as virulent there as in the most densely populated and most filthy districts of our large cities. As it did not appear that anybody had recently been on a debauch, or fallen into the dock at Folly Island, the New York Board of Health arrived at the conclusion that the unusual sultriness of the weather predisposed the wreckers and the negroes.

No doubt many of our citizens were as well satisfied with this explanation as they were with that of the introduction of the same pestilence into New York a few weeks previously; they were probably not aware that during the intense cold of the previous winter the disease committed

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\* Vide *Essays on Pathology and Therapeutics*, &c., by Samuel H. Dickson, M.D., vol. xi. p. 92.

frightful ravages in the North of Russia—proving more fatal at St. Petersburg in midwinter than it did at Paris, London, or Vienna in midsummer.

But let us turn whithersoever we may, we shall find that the notions of our boards of health on the nature and cause of cholera are entirely erroneous. Thus the highest average mortality in London during the most unfavorable season, while the city was filthier than it has ever been since, was about 38.5 per cent. of those attacked; the highest average in Paris was about 49 per cent.; whereas the average in the coldest inhabited parts of Russia was 58.6 per cent. At Tiflis three-fourths of those attacked died; at Astrachan two-thirds. In the province of the Caucasus 16,000 were attacked and 10,000 died. When the disease first broke out at Moscow, nine-tenths of those seized perished. In short, in some parts of frozen Russia nearly half the inhabitants were swept away by the cholera; whereas in sultry, oppressive Tripoli only one perished out of every 200. In all the principal cities of Europe every precaution was taken against the disease; in Tripoli scarcely any were taken; the authorities as well as the people relying on the Mohammedan dogma of fatalism, like their brethren of Turkey.

These are facts which cannot be disputed; they are proved by the statistics carefully collected in all parts of the world. How, then, can it be pretended that the scavenger, the chambermaid and the paterfamilias can control the cholera? The spirit-rappers, or the advertising fortune-tellers might as well pretend that they could do so. It may be very well to tell a dirty, ignorant person that if he do not wash himself and keep himself clean he will take the cholera and die of it; it may be excusable to tell our Aldermen and Councilmen that if they do not keep the streets clean the city will be attacked at a particular time by the cholera, and that if they do enforce cleanliness nobody need be afraid even if the disease do visit us in its worst form. This might be excused on the ground that the end justifies the means, since it is beyond question that cleanliness will do good, though it cannot be regarded as a specific for the cholera. But to proclaim such doctrine as one of the great discoveries of modern

science is not merely absurd; it is mischievous. It certainly does more harm than good; in illustration of this we need only say that hundreds have lost their lives because they were led to believe that being scrupulously clean in their person and houses, and strictly temperate in their habits, they need not fear the cholera. Thus a false sense of security led them to expose themselves—often needlessly—and they found, when too late, that the performance of a mere duty, which every person having any pretensions to decency or intelligence, must know he owes to himself, cannot be regarded as a protection against the virus of pestilential cholera.

Nor has the stamping out theory any better foundation as applied to yellow fever. No amount of water or chloride of lime will stamp it out, until nature does so, or until the disease runs its course. Yellow fever, unlike cholera, cannot exist in the cold of winter; its virus is rendered inert by frost. While cholera has committed its ravages in all climates, and has proved as destructive amid the icy mountains of Russia and Norway as in the sultry valleys of the tropics, the yellow fever has never been known in an epidemic form in any of the more northern countries of Europe. But in most countries which it has visited it has proved more fatal than the cholera or even the plague.

Although those medical philosophers of the present day who do not like to extend their researches beyond the most ordinary text-books, regard yellow fever as a modern disease as they do cholera, physicians like Sydenham and Boerhaave were of opinion that it was identical with the pestilence described by Thucydides and of which Pericles died. To many this would appear very absurd, nevertheless there is good reason for it. The Greek historian states that before the disease appeared at Athens it had prevailed at Lemnus and various other places; and that it was introduced to Athens through the Piræus, which was the port of the city, where it suddenly broke out, and then rapidly spread, extending to every street. Thucydides also remarks that it was most fatal in the upper part of the city, where the population was most dense; and that it subsequently attacked other cities, sooner or later according as they had more or less

intercourse with Athens. He gives a full description of the symptoms, and those who have had most experience of yellow fever say that the most prominent are precisely those of the yellow fever. Thus, for example, the historian speaks of the extreme febrile heat, and the pale, greenish yellow (*χλωρόν*) and livid color of the surface of the body: also, of the sense of excessive internal heat, apathy, or insanity, characteristic of the disease. But what is most worthy of attention is his description of the copious bilious evacuations, in view of the fact that the ancients regarded the black color of discharges from the bowels as having been produced by bile. Finally he mentions characteristics which are not those of the true plague; thus, for example, he says that "those who recovered had much compassion on those who were dying and those who lay sick, as having known the misery themselves, and *were now in a secure condition, for it never seized the same person twice so as to be fatal.*" \*

Lucretius' description of the same pestilence embraces many symptoms which are also identical with those of yellow fever, although the poet represents the pestilence at Athens as having come from Egypt. He describes the febrile condition, the stupor and extreme debility of the patient, the bloody appearance of the tongue, &c. with remarkable precision †

But whether it was the yellow fever that committed such ravages at Athens, or not, whether it was the disease that appeared in the army of Pericles, when he besieged the city of Epidaurus, and finally attacked Pericles himself, ‡ certain it is that it has proved as fatal as any other epidemic both in Europe and America.

It has proved more fatal than the cholera, both in this

\* Thucyd., *De Bello Pelopon.*, lib. ii.

† Inde catervatim morbo, mortique, dabantur,  
Principio, caput incensum fervore gerebant;  
Et duplicem oculos subfusa luce rubentis,  
Sudabant etiam fauces, intrinsicus atræ,  
Sanguine; et ulceribus vocis via septa colbat:  
Atque, animi interpres, monabat lingua cruore,  
Debilitata malis, motu gravis, aspera tactu.

*De Rerum Natura*, Lib. vi. 1142-1148.

‡ Plutarch, in *Vita*.

city and in Philadelphia. It has visited New York eleven times, carrying off a large number of the inhabitants each time. In 1798, 2,086 died of it out of a population of 55,000. In 1805, so frightful were its ravages in New York that 37,000 fled out of a population of 76,000. Philadelphia was nearly desolated by it in 1793, and again in 1798. During the former year 4,041 persons died in that city, and 17,000 fled, out of a population of 50,000. Dr. Townsend states from personal observations corroborated by statistics, that in 1822 such was the mortality in New York from yellow fever that so late in the season as October the proportion of deaths to the affected was as three to four. The average mortality in Philadelphia, in 1820, was about two out of every three.

In the south of Europe the mortality from the same disease has been still greater. According to the testimony of Dr. Rocheaux, an eye-witness, who was in daily attendance on the sick for seven weeks, the mortality in Barcelona, in 1821, during the early part of the epidemic, amounted to nineteen out of twenty of those attacked. Dr. Killkrest, who had similar opportunities of knowing the truth, says that of 134 cases, which occurred at Murcia, only three or four recovered. The same physician remarks that scarcely any recovered of those first attacked at Gibraltar in 1828. In illustration of the extreme virulence and malignity of the disease, he says that of thirty-five Jews, received into the Civil Hospital, only one recovered.\*

There is no city in which the yellow fever has appeared in the epidemic form in which it is not liable to appear again, for that it is an infectious disease is beyond question.

Nothing is more clearly proved than that yellow fever has never appeared spontaneously in New York or Philadelphia, but has in every instance been as much an imported disease as the cholera. It may be true, as Drs. Rush and Miller have said, that certain conditions of the soil near the water in Philadelphia and New York aided in the propagation of the disease when once introduced;

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\* Vide *Copland's Medical Dictionary*, Vol. III., p. 167.

although even this is denied by the large majority of those who have devoted most attention to the peculiarities of the yellow fever. "Most decidedly," says Dr. Dancer of Jamaica, "it is an imported disease, and is communicable by contagion." To this he adds that "*it has no apparent connection with local causes; that it has appeared in the healthiest seasons and localities, and has prevailed least in unhealthy and marshy places.*" \*

Dr. Charlton, President of the Medical Society of New York, declares in a letter to Dr. Hosack, of the 9th of September, 1803, as the result of long professional experience, that "the disease is of foreign origin," and that he never met with a case of it but which "could be traced to infection *from* the city." Dr. Ledyard, a very eminent New York physician, was first of opinion that the disease was generated in the city, as alleged by Dr. Miller; but Dr. Hosack informs us that he subsequently had reason to change his belief; and that all his own observations at the health office satisfied him that it was exclusively derived from the West Indies.

Nor is it alone individual physicians who are thus decided in their opinion of its foreign origin; the medical societies of all the cities in which it committed its ravages, have been equally positive in arriving at the same conclusion. Thus in a paper drawn up by the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, in 1798, it is stated, "3d. That the principal peculiarities of this fever are its contagious nature, the progress of the symptoms, and the mortality consequent upon it. 4th. That to prove the contagious nature of this disease would be equally useless as to prove the contagion of the plague." In the same paper it is pertinently asked, "Where do we see the first appearance of this pestilential fever? Is it among the marshes to the southward of our city, or in the neighbourhood of our wharves? Is it in the confined alleys, or on the salubrious banks of the Delaware at Kensington? *Is it not always near those places where vessels from foreign countries are found?* Do the fevers common to the country steal on insensibly *infecting one person after another* in a family and

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\* Copland's Medical Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 173.



in a neighbor? Are they equally severe in seasons so opposite as in 1797 and 1798?" \*

Dr. Pascalis, of Philadelphia, was of opinion, as well as Dr. Ledyard, at the commencement of the epidemic in that city, that the disease was produced by local causes, and accordingly he is quoted by several writers on the subject, including Dr. Bancroft, as opposed to the theory of contagion. But if he ever entertained any such opinion he soon found reason to change it. "It has appeared to me," he says, "as well as to many practitioners, that a considerable number of the cases could not be traced but to a contagious power in the fever itself; such were the cases of whole families, who seemed *preserved as long* as they had no patient in their houses, and who all perished, *or were sick, without exception, as soon as they admitted among them any one affected with the disease.* This deplorable effect has been seen *in the most wholesome parts* of the town (Philadelphia) and *at any period of the season*; so that in many instances where the disease seemed most universal, by care and *precaution*, people were preserved; while in the country they fell victims to their unreserved intercourse with patients when the epidemic was fast decreasing in every part of the town." †

We might fill pages with testimony equally positive by the most eminent physicians of Europe and America as to the foreign origin of yellow fever—testimony which leaves no doubt on any intelligent, candid mind, that yellow fever is capable of being propagated in any of the cities it formerly visited, altogether independently of local causes. We have shown that the plague and the cholera commit their ravages in a manner equally independent and unaccountable. However much the three great pestilences differ from each other in certain characteristics, it is equally true of all that they cannot be "stamped out" until they run their course. The plague cannot exist where there is intense heat or intense cold; it is equally unknown within the tropics and in high northern latitudes. It can only propagate itself where there is moderate heat; and even where it is most malignant it generally spares persons who are naturally robust and vigor-

\* Report of Philadelphia College of Physicians, 1798.

† *Copland's Med. Dict.*, vol. iii., p. 175.

ous, whereas it most readily attacks children, females, and persons of feeble, delicate constitutions, especially the aged.

Yellow fever, on the contrary, generally spares the feeble and debilitated, while it attacks the robust and vigorous with the utmost fury; and accordingly the most experienced and skilful physicians have recommended an abstemious diet as the best protection against the disease. Dr. Rush of Philadelphia recommends a diet of milk and vegetables, adding that the more moderately animal food is taken, if used at all, the better. But what he thinks is still worse than highly concentrated food is liquor in any form; and his opinion is corroborated by the views of those physicians of the West Indies and Spain who have had most experience in the treatment of the disease. "I am inclined to think," says Dr. Rush, "from a variety of facts, that abstinence from every species of strong liquor, wine itself not excepted, during the prevalence of pestilence, is more conducive to the maintenance of health than any other dietetic regulation whatever. It is an established fact, that water-drinkers either escaped the pestilence altogether, or had the disease in a remarkably mild degree. On the other hand, many instances occurred of free-livers receiving the infection in the morning, and having the attack of the fever after a plentiful repast of animal food and wine the following night." \*

But we are reminded that we have other subjects to discuss. Although we have been able only to take a glance at the history of epidemics, we think we have shown that the potency of "modern science" is somewhat exaggerated. Far be it from us to deny that the boards of health in our principal cities have done much good during the past two or three years; but it is not the less true, that while doing so, some of their members have often rendered themselves ridiculous. Their weekly bulletins are veritable curiosities. They speak of epidemics as if they were ferocious animals that could be frightened away by chamber-maids, scavengers, "teetotalers" and medical students, but which, if they will visit us perchance, while all our guardians are asleep, are

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\* *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, vol. ii. p. 49.

sure to respect gentlemen and ladies. They will make their attacks only on the vulgar and unwashed; or if they should attack a gentleman by mistake he need have little fear; they will let him go with only a slight dragging, if he has not recently been indulging in naughty habits. In this case they may carry him off, so that he may serve as a warning to other respectable people who may be supposed also to have their weaknesses.

Naturalists tell us that there are some spots which are carefully avoided by beasts of prey on account of certain peculiarities of the soil, or of the atmosphere, while there are other spots which attract those animals for the opposite peculiarities. Some of our boards of health seem to have taken a hint from this in the construction of their "sanitary maps." If there are any of our readers who have not yet seen the sanitary map of New York, they should procure a copy at once. One has only to glance at this in order to tell the precise localities in which the next epidemic, whether the plague, the cholera, or the yellow fever, is sure to sojourn for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances; also the precise localities which those epidemics are nearly as sure to avoid. Real estate agents especially, and nervous ladies, would do well, for obvious reasons, to have a copy of this map. If any one dies of an epidemic who does not reside in a black spot, it is not the fault of the white spot—it is clear that the deceased, although hitherto regarded as a gentleman, and consequently exempt from epidemic disease, must have been a filthy or intemperate person, most probably both.

Those who are not aware of the peculiar manner in which New York has been "protected" from disease during the last two or three years, may well regard this as burlesque; but if they will examine some of the reports and bulletins alluded to they will find that we do not exaggerate the facts, which we are called upon to regard as "the teachings of modern science."

But this ridiculous pretentiousness to superior knowledge has a serious side to it. Everybody remembers how much it has been the habit in New York, for some years past, to represent those supposed to have

died of cholera either as intemperate or filthy in their habits. We have ourselves known persons who led a most exemplary life, including clergymen, to have been thus vilified because they happened to die suddenly, lest their wealthy neighbors might be frightened at the idea that they also were liable to die of cholera, or some other epidemic, real or imaginary, as the case might be.

It is but a spurious kind of science that encourages conduct so outrageous. Those who lose their beloved relatives and protectors have sufficient cause for grief without seeing them falsely assailed in this way. Were it even true that their habits were filthy and intemperate, there would be neither propriety nor humanity in proclaiming the fact while those to whom they were dear are still weeping over their corpses. What a strange anomaly it is that frequently the assassin, who pays the just penalty of his crime, not only receives sympathy but is mourned as a saint, while one never charged with any crime is abused in the grossest manner for having died so suddenly and under such circumstances that his death might frighten others!

We are not in any manner opposed to boards of health; we think, on the contrary, that one should be maintained permanently in every large city. We certainly have no unfriendly feeling towards any member of the Board of Health of New York; indeed, there are several members of the Board whom we regard as personal friends. Our only object in the allusions we have made in several parts of this article to the "stamping out" theory, is to show that it is not only erroneous and unscientific, but decidedly pernicious; and if any of its pernicious consequences be obviated by our remarks, we shall consider ourselves abundantly rewarded *sine maleficio ad aliquem*.

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ART. IV.—*Official Despatches and other Public Documents.* 1861–1865.

PROMINENT among the many singular features of our late war, and among those which distinguished it from the great European wars of the past, may be mentioned the small

number of sieges which marked its progress, and the fact that in all those operations which may be justly designated sieges, the forces of the Union bore the aggressive part; for although some of the finest armies which the rebel government ever assembled, were launched forth on a tour of Northern conquest, they never settled down before one of our strongholds, and bravely but patiently carried to their legitimate result the tedious operations of a siege. What could not be taken by a few desperate assaults, was passed by or retired from as the requirements of the campaign seemed to dictate.

It is true that many aggressive movements of the rebels have been and still are, called sieges, but if they are properly so called, a new term must be invented to designate those operations in which sapping, mining, a liberal vertical fire, and the protracted and effective use of heavy artillery for offensive purposes, form a leading and an essential part.

Had the rebels made a vigorous and determined attempt to capture Washington, concentrating for this purpose their entire strength and compelling a similar concentration on our part, the resulting operations would have been unrivalled in their grandeur. Grant or indeed any of the generals who were prominent during the later stages of the war, would probably have found an investment by inferior numbers exceedingly irksome, and leaving a sufficient force to hold the defensive lines, would have fallen upon the enemy's flank and rear with the residue, in that style which is so ruinous to well-laid plans. Be this as it may, it is not difficult to explain the peculiarity of our war, to which we have referred, for its causes are apparent to even a superficial observer. We can readily understand why continental Europe is dotted over with fortified places, for each place has a history of its own, while the dense population and high state of cultivation of the country which surround them, render it easy to provision and garrison them when they are supposed to lie in the path of an invading army, if indeed they are not strongly garrisoned at all times to maintain the sway of the ruling dynasty; and it is equally easy to understand why as our forces gradually overran the South, great fortresses did not

loom up in their path, requiring either to be reduced, or to be watched by corps of observation, much stronger than their garrisons. All the elements which are essential to the thorough and speedy fortification of a great country,—well developed material resources, a skilful laboring population, a fully matured policy of defence, and great engineering skill on the part of the responsible head of affairs were wanting; and consequently speedy capture or a retreat followed every attempt of a detachment to hold out in hastily constructed earthworks, against superior numbers.

Having thus glanced at the causes which conspired to determine the character of our war, we are prepared to make the most of those parts of its history which show us obstinate bravery on one side, and a vigorous defence on the other, with a few yards of earth or sand intervening, to heighten the dramatic effect.

Charleston, like most of our Southern seaboard cities, is environed with broad marshes, bordered toward the sea with long narrow islands, some of which are yielding so rapidly to its wash, that they promise before long, to degenerate into overgrown strips of beach, useful only to break the force of the incoming waves, unless, indeed, the same forces which now threaten their destruction, may by some freak of nature be charged with their rebuilding. These islands, desolate as they may appear, are, when properly fortified, well fitted to ward off a seaward attack, and one of them, Fort Moultrie, proved itself a formidable barrier to the entrance of the British fleet, some years before South Carolina and the mother country were discovered to have a common interest in the destruction of a great common enemy. After the capture of the Morris Island batteries, it was from this island that a fire was poured forth which proved an efficient obstacle to the entrance of our own fleet, and threatened to bar its return, if after a contest in the inner harbor it attempted to retire in a disabled condition. The southern boundary of the harbor entrance is Morris Island, whose north end is nearly four miles from the city and 1400 yards from Fort Sumter. The experiments of the rebels early in 1861 had convinced them that at this range that structure could be demolished by a

persevering effort, and they accordingly erected, at a point nearly a mile farther down the island, Fort Wagner, a massive casemated structure, whose plan exhibited more skill than its location, which, however, was determined upon before the full powers of rifled artillery had been developed, and when it was supposed that two miles, intervening between a breaching battery and the threatened fortress, would effectually protect the latter from any material injury.

More than two miles south of Fort Wagner is lighthouse Jules, a narrow estuary separating Morris Island from its southern neighbor, Folly Island, which stretches more than seven miles farther down the coast, and was covered, prior to its occupation by our forces, with a dense growth of timber and underbrush. It was occupied, without resistance, April 2d, 1863, and after the failure of the Navy to capture or destroy Fort Sumter, five days later, was retained, almost without molestation, for nearly two months, when the rebels, having meanwhile placed in position several guns on the southern part of Morris Island, opened a heavy fire upon our pickets, an amusement which was repeated several times at intervals of a few days, with but slight loss, however, to our troops.

Early in June, General Q. A. Gillmore was recalled from Kentucky to assist the navy in its operations against Charleston, and arriving in the department he assumed command in a short order, and addressed himself to the task before him. It was not expected that with a force which the rebels could outnumber two to one, he could beat down all obstacles, and present to an eager public one of the most important sea-ports of the Confederacy, with a garniture of encircling forts, and guns by the hundred. Sherman did so a year and a half later, but Gillmore could not hope to do it with his small force, and the fact that he was expected by many, simply shows that there were many who did not adequately comprehend the nature of the obstacles which he encountered.

He found matters, however, in a condition which was in some respects highly favorable to the movement which he contemplated. The long periods of inaction of former commanders, and the feeble character of the movements which

they did undertake, had beguiled the enemy into a feeling of comparative security, and impressed them with the belief that our forces were incapable of any effort at all formidable in its character, while the recent unsuccessful attempt of the *New Ironsides* and eight monitors to enter the inner harbor, had resulted in an increased estimate of the defensive powers of the harbor forts.

Soon after our occupation of Folly Island, a lookout tower had been erected near its northern end, but out of range of the greater part of the rebel fire, and commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. From it could be watched the movements of the blockade runners, which after passing our fleet, usually lay at anchor near Fort Sumter until morning, when they moved up to the city. During one week in May five vessels were counted in this way, and there was good reason to believe that they did not spend an unnecessary length of time in the harbors after discharging their cargoes, and receiving their loads of cotton. Night after night the dull boom of our guns would be heard rolling in from the sea, but morning showed the long, low hull of the persecuted vessel safely cradled in the harbor, and on one occasion two of these treasonable crafts slipped through the toils of the hunter and reached their destination in safety. As may be imagined, this apparent inefficiency, on the part of our blockading fleet, was severely criticised by those who witnessed its operations from the shore, but it is doubtful whether their strictures were just, on the whole. It is difficult even to discover a lead-colored vessel on a dark night, and still more difficult to pursue that vessel when discovered, in spite of her doublings, which may render useless any preconceived plan of operations, in which several gun-boats have each a part.

From this wooden tower, Gen. Gillmore carefully studied the country which he hoped to occupy, until he had fully matured his plan, a portion of which was even then being executed; he decided as follows:

- I. To place in position on the upper end of Folly Island as many guns as could be well located, and at the same time concealed from the enemy.



II. To make a heavy demonstration on James' Island, which lay between Folly Island and the city, for the purpose of distracting the enemy's attention from the real point of attack—Morris Island—and with the hope that the enemy would concentrate his available force to oppose this feint.

III. To collect on Folly Island all the available troops in the department, without attracting the enemy's attention, and as a preparatory movement to those which were to follow.

IV. A strong brigade was to be embarked in small boats, and conveyed through the creek which forms the western boundary of Folly Island, to Lighthouse Inlet, where it was to land and form a lodgment on the lower end of Morris Island, the batteries defending which were to be engaged and silenced, by the fire of our own batteries, established on the opposite shore, and by the fire of the Navy.

V. To capture and occupy Fort Wagner, and erect breaching batteries against Fort Sumter, and destroy its defensive powers, thus removing what was considered the most formidable obstacle to the entrance of the Navy; which it was expected would at once enter and occupy the harbor. This hope was never realized, but it is probable that the same boldness and skill, which gave us New Orleans, would have ensured the capture of Charleston.

VI. The Charleston and Savannah railroad was to be cut, to prevent the passage of reinforcements from the latter city northward to Charleston. This movement was undertaken by a detachment weak in numbers, and proved unsuccessful. Its failure did not affect the execution of the general plan. The erection of the batteries on the northern end of Folly Island was prosecuted with secrecy and vigor. Every precaution which prudence could suggest was taken to conceal our movements from the rebels, who were separated from us by an inlet, only four hundred yards in width. In spite of all our precautions, nothing but the carelessness of the enemy kept him in ignorance of our movements, which were, however, in some respects, highly favored by the topographical features of the ground, which consisted of a cluster of high drifting sand hills, in which we excavated the batteries, cutting through the embrasures last of all. The sound of ham-

mers and saws, was deadened and concealed by the roar of the surf, which rolled in at our right hand, and the presence of a background of timber and underbrush, enabled us to conceal some of our work by transporting bushes to the desired localities. Such were the precautions used to avoid unnecessary noise, that upon one occasion, a gun platform which had been improperly laid, was cut in two, for a distance of nearly fifteen feet, by boring auger holes through the planks in a continuous line.

The other details of the general plan were carried out with entire success. The troops were in an excellent state of discipline, and the subordinate commanders seemed to appreciate fully the importance of the duties which were assigned them, and the value of a prompt and implicit obedience of orders. The reinforcements from other parts of the department were disembarked at Folly Island during the night, and the transports which brought them were out of sight before morning, as were the troops; who at once sought the shelter of the woods. All passing to and fro was restricted within limits which at the time seemed absurdly narrow, while the picket line was rigorously kept clear of stragglers, and amateur observers.

Early in the war the rebels had obstructed Lighthouse Inlet, by driving a double row of piles at a point which our assaulting party must pass, and the removal of these piles became necessary. A passage was opened by sawing them off, at a depth of several feet from the surface of the water. This work was begun on the night of the eighth, and was completed the morning of the assault.

At length, at day-break on the morning of July tenth, all was ready and the ball opened. The demonstration on James' Island, under General Terry, was perfectly successful, and the forces confronting him were augmented by a detachment from the garrison of Morris Island, precisely as we wished. The assaulting party, embarked the night before, had reached a position favorable to a rapid advance, and lay concealed by the tall marsh grass. Our guns and mortars, forty-seven in number, ranged for several hundred yards from right to left across the island, and their simultaneous

discharge would have projected nearly a ton of metal toward the rebel works.

Just as the first rays of the rising sun shone forth, the gun on the right fired the opening shot, and the cloud of smoke which marked its discharge was rapidly extended to the left, as gun after gun and mortar after mortar hurled forth their shot and shell, and our gunners addressed themselves to the work which was before them. Four monitors moved up and added the thunders of their fire to the already tremendous uproar. The reply of the rebels was unsteady and inefficient, and but one or two of our men were injured by it. Two of our artillery men were severely wounded by the premature explosion of the gun which they were serving. Our own fire was not very accurate, as it resulted in dismounting only one gun, of all those which were opposed to us. Still forty seven pieces, fired in any direction with rapidity, must prove annoying to uncovered bodies of troops, and it is probable that the reinforcements which were marched down from the upper end of the island during the bombardment must have suffered somewhat from this cause.

While this furious cannonade was in progress, the assaulting party was moving into position, and at length, passing the obstructions which lay in its path, came under the view of the enemy's artillery, which in spite of our own fire, threw several wild shots toward it in the vain hope of staying its progress. As the boats approached and came more nearly between our own batteries and those of the enemy, our fire slackened and finally ceased, and our artillerymen leaped to the parapet, to watch the result of the contest. The scene was one of the wildest excitement; with tremendous cheers our men urged their boats forward, and rapidly forming on the beach, advanced and quickly drove the rebel infantry from its intrenchments, from which it had poured forth a rapid but not very destructive fire. The rebel artillery was badly arranged for a close defence, and was speedily deserted, and in a short time two thirds of the island was in our possession, and scattering parties of prisoners were slowly passing to the rear, evidently in an unenviable frame of mind. The remnant of the rebel

garrison gathered in its stronghold, which was yet to be the price of much blood, and of many valuable lives.

The heat of the sun, and the fatigues of the morning, put an emphatic negative upon all propositions to assault it that day, while the sullen front of Sumter, and the screaming of the great shells which she threw over our heads, at a range of more than three miles, seemed to promise not a little arduous labour, before our task was finished.

At day-break the next morning, Fort Wagner was assaulted without success, and with but small loss compared with that which attended a similar movement a week later. More troops were now brought over from Folly Island, and Gen. Terry's division was recalled from James' Island, where its presence was no longer required. It was decided to place in position against Ft. Wagner every gun which could be moved up, and with the aid of the navy to try the effect of a vigorous bombardment, to be followed by an assault. About a week was devoted to this work, which to the engineer troops was of the most exhausting character, requiring as it did unremitting labor day and night, with insufficient supplies and an annoying fire as attendant evils. At length, on the morning of the eighteenth all was ready and a terrible fire was poured upon the devoted place. The constant fire of the land batteries, and the huge shells of the navy, tore and scattered its massive parapet until it seemed that no living being could exist within its walls. Its replies were infrequent and at length ceased; its flagstaff was shot away until nothing but a ragged stump remained. Still its garrison was practically unharmed and was soon to display its numbers in a determined defence. At sunset preparations for the assault being completed, the column moved rapidly up the beach, and toward the spot where hundreds of its numbers were to find their graves, and hundreds more were to be maimed for life; perhaps in no contest of the war was there more bloodshed upon so limited a space; there certainly was none in which a regiment whose very manhood had been denied, gave better evidence of its devotion to a country not over grateful, than did the 54th Massachusetts. But great as was the loss in that regiment, it was fully shared by others,

and when, after further endurance had become useless, our decimated brigades retired, those who survived had just reason to be proud that they participated in this fearful assault, which most signally failed to accomplish its object.

An assault in broad daylight is frequently successful, because after the enemy's works are once gained even in part, the plan of attack becomes so far developed, that it is comprehended by a considerable number of those who participate in its execution, and although the leading officers may fall at the critical moment, there are usually others who are ready to lead on the men to those points which must be occupied at the proper moment, or not at all. At Wagner there were two or three guns upon which the first rush should have been made, and over which a hand to hand contest should have been maintained, while in the ditch and on the glacis thus rendered tenable, it would have been easy to collect a force whose onset would have carried all before it. In daylight too, the inspiring effect of personal example will often achieve wonders, but the most undaunted heroism cannot affect those from whom it is concealed by the darkness. With these and many other elements of success wanting, it would have been strange had the effort been successful, and perhaps nothing but one of those fortunate accidents, which sometimes turn the tide of a contest, could have rendered it so.

The next day was a gloomy one to all. Many of the officers who had been relied upon to take a leading part in our future operations, were dead or disabled, while a majority of our best regiments had lost some of their bravest officers and men, and that buoyant sanguine spirit which is so essential to the successful prosecution of a great enterprise, was correspondingly lessened in intensity.

The strength of Wagner having been made apparent to all, the more tardy but more certain operations of a siege were entered upon with spirit and diligence, while the varying incidents of its progress, and the prospect that our future operations would be more decisive in their character, soon banished the memory of their recent defeat from the minds of

our men, and nerved them to endure the fatigues of the few weeks which followed, with a patience which was at once commendable and surprising.

On the night of the assault, as soon as its disastrous termination became known, a line of inclined palisading was set up, stretching from right to left across the island, from the beach to the creek which forms its western boundary. This obstacle was intended to check any sortie which the enemy might make, and several days were devoted to strengthening the line thus defined, which was about thirteen hundred yards from Wagner, while at a point about two and a half miles from Sumter, a breaching battery was begun, with the view of testing at that distance the effect of a fire from the heavy rifled guns, which were originally intended to be used at a much shorter range. This battery was located on a spur of the island, which projected several hundred yards into the marsh on our left, and the batteries which were established at this point were designated the Left Batteries, to distinguish them from those which were located on the main body of the island, and in front of Wagner, to whose fire they were exposed.

During the bombardment of the eighteenth, several thirty-pound rifled pieces had been used from the left, and were retained there to prevent the passage of steamers from the city to the north end of the island. One evening just before sunset, one of these guns was turned upon Sumter and two or three shells fired at that fortress, which had the effect of producing as many unmistakable clouds of brick dust, thus showing that they had penetrated the parapet before bursting. It was not intended, however, to employ pieces of this calibre, while guns capable of throwing five times the weight of metal lay idle, and means were taken to bring a portion at least of these guns to bear, at as short a range as could be obtained, and as Wagner lay nearly in a direct line, between our advanced works on the right and Ft. Sumter, it is obvious that an advance toward the former would be an equivalent advance toward the latter. Accordingly after a careful examination of the ground to be occupied, our lines were advanced, on the night of the twenty-third a distance of nearly

five hundred yards, and to a point within a range of two miles from Ft. Sumter. The labors of the troops were this night attended with entire success, and the ground thus occupied formed the second parallel of the siege. Every precaution was taken to preclude the possibility of our being dispossessed of this line, and within a few days it was considered as well fitted to resist an assault, as Ft. Wagner itself. Indeed, this locality soon assumed the appearance of a small fortress. A large central magazine was soon completed, with smaller service magazines, for the use of the breaching and defensive guns. On the left of the parallel, and extending across the creek which limited its extension in that direction, was stretched a boom of heavy timbers, securely fastened together, for the purpose of obstructing the passage of any flanking party in boats, should an attempt of this character be made; but on the right of the parallel stretched a beach, swept by the enemy's fire, and an excellent path for the passage of a sortie. The difficulty of defending this flank, was met by the construction of what was designated the Surf Battery, a structure whose foundation of logs, carefully prepared during the daytime, was laid at night. Upon this was built a parapet entirely composed of well filled sand-bags, with three embrasures, of boiler-plate, for howitzers at its extremity, and with emplacements for two pieces near the shore. The beach was perfectly commanded by this work which would have poured a galling fire into an advancing column.

The construction of breaching batteries at this point, was prosecuted with great energy, and on the first of August platforms had been laid for seven, although the parapets were as yet incomplete, and the guns did not open fire for more than two weeks.

Although the destruction of Fort Sumter was the most prominent feature in our present operations, it was deemed advisable to push our approaches toward Wagner as rapidly as was consistent with a regard for the lines of our sappers, and our pickets forced back those of the enemy, night after night, in order that an advance might not be discovered, until too nearly completed to be arrested, and on the night

of August ninth, the third parallel was established, three hundred and thirty yards in advance of the second, and five hundred from Fort Wagner. The flanks of the ground thus gained were made as secure as possible, by the use of abatis and inclined palisading, so placed as to prevent an enemy from gaining our rear, should he pass either extremity of the parallel. It was considered unwise to risk ordinary field guns so far in advance, and their places were supplied by the use of little affairs, called after their inventor Requa batteries. They consisted of twenty-five rifled barrels, so arranged as to deliver their fire in one flame, but with a lateral divergence which could be varied at will, and although their offensive properties were not severely tested in this siege, a favorable opinion was formed of them, by most of those under whose observation they came.

Hitherto our advance had been almost entirely by the use of the flying sap, which consists simply in the disposition of a sufficient number of men in such a manner that if at a given signal, each begins a trench at his feet, throwing the earth to the front, and unites his own work with that of his comrade on either side, the desired parallel and its approaches will be established, although much additional labour is required to complete the work thus begun. As the assignment of the men to their posts must be made in silence, and during the darkest portion of the night, an engineer officer has good reason to congratulate himself, if he can successfully execute his task. It will be readily understood, that when the men have once begun their labors, they lose no time in interposing between the enemy's guns and themselves as heavy a body of earth as they can throw up, for as a stimulus to active exertion the fear of a lively fire of grape and canister stands unrivalled.

Meanwhile a singular structure was rising from the surface of the adjacent marsh, at a point more than three quarters of a mile from the nearest point of the island, and four miles from Charleston, for whose benefit its armament was especially designed. This work, under the soubriquet of the "Swamp Angel," soon became widely known, and although its fire never proved very destructive, it demonstra-



ted that without any further advance on our part, Charleston might be rendered an undesirable place of residence. Its construction, which was prosecuted almost entirely during the night, was begun by spreading upon the surface of the marsh two thicknesses of heavy tarpaulin.

Upon the surface thus prepared a platform of heavy logs was laid, having in its centre a rectangular opening, slightly larger than the platform of the battery; upon this platform of logs was laid the parapet, constructed entirely of sand bags, which had been filled during the daytime at a point nearly a mile and a half distant, and transported to their destination at night in boats. Around the rectangular opening, a continuous line of planks were thrust down through the soft mud, to the sandy bottom of the marsh, the planks being edge-to-edge, and thus forming a huge chest, nearly filled with the soft soil, upon the top of which a heavy tarpaulin was spread, and over this several inches of sand, and upon this a massive platform of yellow pine, whose weight was partially sustained by the sand and its substratum, and partially by the sheet piling just described. Upon this foundation, which was independent of that which sustained the parapet, was laid the platform proper of the gun, an eight-inch Parrott rifle. The battery was connected with the island by a foot-way, sustained mainly by piles thrust into the marsh, and partially by a bearing surface of light planks.

Thirty-five shots in all were fired from this battery toward Charleston: the Greek fire which attained so great a notoriety at the time, was a worthless composition, inferior in power to many substances which have been in use for years. It failed to inflame a dry pine board which was held in contact with its flame, until it had burned out. Careful parents often entrust their children with fire-works which are far more dangerous in their character.

As soon as the suspicions of the rebels were fully aroused as to our intentions with regard to Fort Sumter, they put forth the most strenuous exertions to protect its exposed portions from our fire, both by piling sand bags against its parapet, and by hanging cotton bales hooped with iron from its coping.

\* The power of cotton to resist the impact of a projectile, has

always been overestimated, and in this case it utterly failed to accomplish its object.

The fire of our breaching batteries was first opened upon Sumter, on the sixteenth of August. Its effect could easily be watched with the naked eye, at a distance of more than two miles. The cloud which followed the explosion of the shells in the parapet was uniformly red, showing that the mass of pulverized brick which was thrown out, must have been very large, to thus mark the usual color of the smoke. At the end of the first day's bombardment the fort presented a ragged appearance, and the efficiency of our fire had surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. The sight from the rear of our batteries was an impressive one. The huge projectiles flew forward to their destination with a rushing sound, not unlike that of steam escaping from the safety-valve of a locomotive, and their course could easily be traced, from the gun nearly to the fort. Much annoyance, and some loss of life were caused by the premature explosion of many of the shells, those from our right batteries necessarily passing over the troops in the advanced trenches. The cause of these accidents was diligently sought for, and various remedies applied without success. When we consider that within a small fraction of a second, the shell receives a rotative motion equal to nearly one hundred revolutions per second, the wonder is, not that premature explosions occur at all, but that the friction of the rough iron interior against the powder inside does not cause such an accident at every discharge. It was also supposed that the flame of the gun's discharge penetrated the base of the shell, and ignited its charge. The first difficulty has since been remedied by applying to the interior a smooth adhesive lining of asphaltum. The defects in the base of the shell can be avoided by more careful casting. The bombardment lasted seven days, the last two or three being chiefly devoted to breaking up the larger fragments which had been previously detached.

No sooner had this result been attained, than our energies were addressed to the reduction of Fort Wagner, which still loomed up as defiantly as ever, and barred our farther progress on land. The navy, which it was hoped would enter

the harbor, as soon as its most formidable defensive work had been silenced, remained in a state of comparative inaction, and utterly failed to realize the expectations which had been based upon its supposed efficiency. It became from this moment simply an auxiliary to the land forces, and this not from any lack of personal courage on the part of its officers, but from causes which can be more intelligently investigated, when time has developed some facts which are now hidden, and when those who have fully succeeded elsewhere, under circumstances apparently as adverse, shall have set forth in full their views as to this failure.

The bombardment closed at sunset, on the twenty-third, and the same night a small redan was thrown out from the left of the fourth parallel, which had been opened two nights before by the flying sap. This redan was intended to flank the parallel, and to serve as a basis for future advances. At this point the artillery fire of Wagner became very troublesome, while the rebel riflemen had formed a lodgment in a deep ridge of sand in our immediate front, and with the aid of those in the fort itself, maintained an accurate and fatal fire of musketry. The parapet on the left of the parallel, owing to the scarcity of material, was very slight, and several yards of it were demolished, a section falling before each shell which penetrated it.

Frequent attempts were made, at this and at other times, to employ the full sap in our advance, with varying success. Its distinctive feature consists in the use of the sap-roller, a cylindrical basket stuffed with fagots, which the sappers constantly push before them, securing their flanks by a parapet thrown up as they advance, or by the use of baskets of brushwood, called gabions, resembling barrels in size and shape, which are placed in position and filled, as the sap-roller advances.

Several modifications of this method of sapping are used, when circumstances permit or require them, but as the sap-roller, though impervious to musket-shots, yields at once to an artillery fire, it is an essential element of success, that the enemy's artillery shall be disabled or silenced by an overpowering fire from the aggressor. In our operations the

enemy's guns were frequently turned upon the sap, and its progress during the day time was uncertain and slow, and when vigorously opposed it involved an expenditure of life which circumstances did not warrant. For this reason by far the greater part of our advance was by the flying sap at night.

It now became apparent to all, that no further progress could be made until the enemy's sharpshooters were driven from the ridge in our front. After an unsuccessful attempt by another regiment, the task was well executed by the Twenty-Fourth Massachusetts volunteers on the evening of August 26th. The ground thus gained was speedily converted into the fifth parallel of the siege, and our troops luxuriated in a fair depth of sand in which to execute their works. The fire of the enemy became, if possible, more severe, but the depth of sand was sufficient to afford good cover, and our casualties did not materially increase. At this point we discovered the nature of the obstacles upon which the enemy relied to obstruct our progress: the ground in our front, and a portion of that which we had captured, was thickly planted with torpedoes, most of which were of wood, and so arranged as to explode by the pressure of the foot. A colored corporal was killed by one of them, and his body, denuded of clothing by the explosion, was deposited, face downward, upon another a few yards off, in a position which was exposed to the view of the enemy's sharpshooters, and here it remained two days before it could be removed.

Our troubles did not end here. Many of the men who had fallen on the eighteenth were buried at this point, and our sappers were continually uncovering their remains. It would not add to the interest of this description to enter upon the details of this development, and it will hardly be necessary to state that our men were careful to avoid, as far as possible, a contact so unpleasant.

As our attempts to advance by sapping were met by the enemy with great ferocity, it was at length decided to turn all our heavy guns upon Fort Wagner, and try the effect of a bombardment, to be followed by a vigorous assault. All of our siege mortars, for which good positions could be prepared

in time, were moved up to the fifth parallel, and a large magazine was constructed in order that their service might be continuous and steady, so far as a supply of ammunition was concerned. The communications from this point to the rear, were strengthened and fitted for the passage and reception of a large body of troops, in order that our assailing party might be protected until it had reached a point very near the fort. Meanwhile it was discovered that the wooden torpedoes could be handled with safety, if a small auger hole was bored through them, and their bursting charge well moistened with water.

On the morning of September 5th the bombardment began, the land batteries being assisted by the New Ironsides which delivered her fire with an accuracy which left nothing to be desired. Our mortars in the fifth parallel threw every shell where it seemed most needed, and during the night, when their fire was most required, as many as four shells might be seen at once *en route* for the fort. Our fire reached its period of greatest intensity on the morning of the 6th, when, as witnessed from our advanced trenches, no words can do justice to its power; the report of the gun in the rear, the whiz of the projectile close over head, and the sound of its explosion, could sometimes all be heard within a single second; and when several guns were fired simultaneously or nearly so, the uproar was tremendous. The head of our advance was adorned with a flag, which enabled the gunners on the Ironsides to avoid it in this fire, and from this locality the huge round shells could be seen swiftly approaching, until they struck the hard beach and glancing upward, grazed the parapet and bomb-proof, and bursting, scattered their splinters over the interior. From the outset this fire completely subdued that of the place, and our sappers completed their work with entire safety, and on the night of the 6th entered the ditch and removed the obstructions which had been relied upon to check our assault, and made plain the path of the troops who were to storm the work in the morning. Nothing but the evacuation of the place, which was successfully accomplished at midnight, prevented the capture of the entire garrison.

The batteries on the north end of the island at once fell into our hands, and the work of the army was practically complete.

Thus ended a siege, which if it was unfruitful in great results, so far as our occupation of the enemy's territory was concerned, will ever be memorable as an exhibition of the courage, endurance, and skill of the American soldier of every grade, while the feat of destroying a great fortress, in spite of the intervention of two miles of an enemy's territory, challenged the admiration of the civilized world, and gave to it the most convincing proof, that our own resources, if fully drawn upon, were all-sufficient to meet the greatest emergency which might overtake us.

The Parrott gun which stood foremost among the enginery of this siege, has since fallen into disgrace, on account of the fatal results which attended its use at the bombardment of Fort Fisher, but it should be borne in mind that the bursting of a gun must necessarily be attended with disastrous consequences on the crowded deck of a vessel, while in a land battery, fewer men are exposed to its fragments. Twenty-four of these guns burst on Morris Island, but their explosion was attended with fatal results in only one or two cases. Setting aside the danger which attends the bursting of this gun, an important objection still remains, in its liability to fail at a critical moment, and leave an important point unprotected, while to replace a heavy gun which has been disabled at an inaccessible point, involves a large amount of labor, and some risk, for the mounting of a piece is usually regarded with great interest by an enemy, and prompt measures are accordingly taken to oppose such a step. Notwithstanding these defects, in the absence of a better weapon this gun will achieve wonders, wherever it is judiciously used.

No new principles are involved in its construction, and the patent which has hitherto been supposed to protect its manufacture, has lately been declared invalid by the United States Courts. The results which followed its use during our war, were those which usually attend the application of good workmanship and the best of materials to the construction of

a weapon whose fundamental principles have been previously established by experiment.

After the capture of Wagner the efficiency of the blockade was increased materially, although it would have been still more effective had the navy taken possession of the entire harbor.

We found the forts which had been captured well constructed works, and no time was lost in adding to their parapets and obstacles such portions as were required to fit them for a protracted defence, should the enemy attempt to recapture them.

Most of the guns in Wagner were found to be uninjured, and the defensive properties of the work were not impaired to any extent, so far as its artillery fire was concerned. The evacuation was compelled by the character of our siege works, which would have protected an assaulting party until it was able to cope with the garrison on nearly equal terms, when, necessarily, the stronger party must succeed.

Mining was not attempted, because the soil was shallow and subject to overflow. The rebels however feared something of the sort, notwithstanding the existence of these obstacles.

The valuable defensive properties of sand forts were fully demonstrated by this siege, as were the inherent weaknesses of masonry structures, and it is to be hoped that the lesson thus learned will not be lost upon those who are entrusted with the defence of our seaports.

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ART. V.—*Catalogues of Colleges, Universities, and Seminaries, Male and Female. 1867-'68.*

WE have now before us one hundred and twenty-seven catalogues, sent us from all parts of the country. These, we believe, represent all religious denominations in the United States, except Mormonism; there is not one of them that has any pretensions to respectability which we have not examined to a greater or less extent, and we are glad to say that, with very few exceptions, all exhibit considerable improvement in literary taste. As we mean to give our im-

pressions of as many as we can, though necessarily in the briefest manner, it is almost superfluous to say that we do not intend our present article as an essay on education ; and still less do we intend to advocate the pet system, or peculiar views of any particular denomination.

If, in the course of our remarks, we evince a preference for any college, university, or seminary, it will be on account of its merit, so far as we are capable of judging of it, not on account of the sect which it represents. If we had any bias of this kind, it would naturally be in favor of the Episcopal Protestant church, in which we have been brought up, and from which we have never seceded ; but we think it will be seen that while we have every disposition to do justice to the institutions of that church, we are not the less disposed to be just to the institutions of the Catholic church. In proof of this we will give precedence to the Catholic colleges and seminaries, and devote more attention to them than to the institutions of all other denominations. This we do because we prefer to give whatever aid we can to the weak rather than to the strong. We do not mean, indeed, that our Catholic colleges are weak intellectually, for, as we shall show in the course of this paper, none are stronger in that respect. What we do mean is simply that they are weak pecuniarily, the Catholics of America being, in general, too poor to afford them an adequate support.

Did we interfere at all in theological subjects, it would be with the view of reconciling all Christian sects with each other ; nor would we exclude the Jews from that union ; but regarding this as a hopeless task, we confine ourselves to the cause of education. Not that we would ignore religion ; we hold, on the contrary, that there can be no good system of education which is not based upon religion ; nay, more, although we cannot pretend to be pious ourselves, we readily admit that the most pious educators are generally the best.

Most of our readers will doubtless deem it needless on our part to make these remarks, yet we are constantly receiving communications informing us that we have written this or that article in favor of this or that sect. Thus, a Protestant doctor writes to inform us that our article on Luther



is "grossly slanderous," and that we must not send our journal to him any more. A Catholic doctor writes from another point of the compass in reference to the same article, denouncing us, though in comparatively mild terms, for our ignorance and bigotry in "dishing up anew those stale slanders about the sale of indulgences"—adding that we evidently did it for the purpose of pandering to the bigotry of ultra-Protestants. A divine from a Pennsylvania village, writes to say that our friendship to popery gives the lie to the motto on our title page, meaning that if we have any pretensions to patriotism, we must at least say nothing good of Catholics as such; and nearly the same mail brings us a letter informing us that an article on Buddhism, which we had recently published, contained "several covert attacks on the Catholic religion," although it so happened that that had not been written by a Protestant at all, but by a zealous Catholic. One accuses us with being "a Jesuit in disguise," another with being "a malignant enemy of the Jesuits," and the twain are equally peremptory and indignant in ordering their names erased forever from our list!

We trust we need hardly assure our readers that we do not permit ourselves to be in the least influenced by communications of this kind; but while they do not at all frighten us, we do not think it irrelevant to allude to them in treating the subject of *education*. What will perhaps be deemed incredible, is, that we have experienced much more bigotry from intelligent Protestants than from intelligent Catholics; at least, we have experienced more enlightened liberality from the latter than from the former. We have been in the habit, from our infancy, of hearing the Catholic clergy spoken of as bigoted and intolerant in contrast with the Protestant clergy. We had always reason to doubt the truth of this; we were persuaded from our own observation that there were at least exceptions to the rule; but our experience in conducting this journal for nine years, during which we have had intercourse more or less extensive with clergymen of all denominations, convinces us that at least in the United States, the Catholic clergy are as liberal and tolerant as the clergy of any other church whatever. In nine

cases out of ten the Catholic bishops and archbishops evince more tolerance, and less bigotry, than the Protestant bishops and archbishops. The latter, though in general very good men, are either altogether indifferent, or they are terribly afraid that popery is preparing some dire calamity for the United States; and as bishops and archbishops are, in these respects, so will the parsons be. We mention these little matters because they have a direct and important bearing on the subject under consideration.

Probably the majority of our readers are not aware that for the last quarter of a century Catholic theological students have paid much more attention to philosophy than Protestant theological students. In the principal Catholic colleges of Europe students intended for the priesthood have to devote several years to the study of Aristotle and Plato; the students of Louvaine and Maynooth devote three times as much attention to the ancient philosophy as those of Oxford and Cambridge; and every enlightened person will admit that no works exercise a more powerful influence in liberalizing the mind, and purifying it from prejudices of all kinds than those of Plato and Aristotle. But they do not merely remove prejudices; their analytical discussions invigorate the intellect: they develop that persuasive power which, from its wonderful effect, may be called the magic of the mind.

This may serve to explain, at least in part, why it is that so many of the most learned and gifted members of the great Protestant universities of England, including ministers possessing benefices in the richest church in the world, have been induced to resign all and join the Catholic church. Those that are married cannot expect to become priests; and those who are in every manner qualified for the priesthood can only expect to address, in England, a congregation very inferior, so far as wealth and influence are concerned, to that which they have been in the habit of addressing as ministers of the Established Church.

It is evident that it is not alone the dogmas of the Catholic church that cause these conversions; for they were the same in Luther's time as they are now—just the same as they were when no Catholic was admissible to any public office

of trust or emolument. But the education of the Catholic clergy was *not* the same; it has been much improved, as we have said, during the last quarter of a century. The priests in England do not make much noise; their names rarely appear in the newspapers. Those who meet them casually would not suppose they knew anything; nor do they care to be regarded in a different light; but in their pulpits, and in their papers and periodicals, they show without any ostentation that they are really philosophers as well as priests.

To the late Cardinal Wiseman, more than perhaps to all others, is this great improvement due. Before his time there were few conversions in England; scarcely any from the learned class. Wiseman had devoted years to the study of philosophy in the land of Cicero and Tacitus. When he came to England, as an humble missionary, he constantly used his pen as well as his tongue; he vindicated his church, but abused no other church. While elevating the standard of Catholic education in every possible manner, he established a quarterly periodical,\* which soon took rank with the best in the world. In this journal were commenced those discussions which have so powerfully influenced the greatest minds of two of the most ancient and most celebrated universities of Europe.

This country has not afforded similar opportunities for exhibiting the improvement we speak of; but what intelligent person has failed to observe the rapid progress made by the Catholic church in the United States within the last twenty years? Now, the question is, How has this change been produced? It cannot be said that our people have become ignorant; perhaps no other people in the world have improved more in intelligence during the same twenty years. But although we have had no cardinal in America, we have had two archbishops who have pursued the same course as Cardinal Wiseman. Archbishop Hughes was equally eloquent, bold, and vigorous with pen and tongue. Even those whom he chastised most severely for their attacks on his religion, could not avoid being influenced by his arguments;

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\* The Dublin Review.

if they were not so influenced, the public at large certainly were; and, accordingly, when the archbishop died, in this city, three or four years ago, no individual of any rank, profession, or creed, was more universally esteemed and respected by Protestants as well as Catholics—especially by the most enlightened class.

Happily for his people, the other archbishop to whom we allude still lives; and we think that no intelligent person who has any knowledge of the Catholic hierarchy in America, and any faith in our judgment, need be informed that we allude to the Archbishop of Baltimore. Still more effectively than even Archbishop Hughes, the Most Rev. Dr. Spalding has pursued in America the course which Cardinal Wiseman has pursued in England. For a quarter of a century, the venerable and learned metropolitan of the United States has been constantly using his pen as well as his tongue; and his tone towards Protestants has never been harsh or intolerant, but always conciliatory and liberal. This is the true Christian spirit which pervades his History of the Protestant Reformation—a work which deserves to be much better known among Protestants than it is.

Although we only mention the two greatest of the American Catholic prelates, we do not mean but that other dignitaries have also contributed to the good work. With not more than one or two exceptions, all have taken a more or less active part in raising the standard of Catholic education, and teaching even the most ignorant to appreciate the value of knowledge.

The various means by which these results have been produced are not apparent to all. Very few of those who are surprised at the wonderful progress made by the Catholic Church in this country have any accurate idea of them; it does not occur to them that there is not a Catholic college or university in Europe which is not represented by some of its most accomplished graduates among the Catholic fraternities in the United States, who devote themselves to education. Thus that denomination of our people possess opportunities of having their sons educated by *alumni* of the celebrated universities of Louvaine, Bruges, Bologna,

Padua, Cordova, Donay, Maynooth, the *Sapienzia* at Rome, etc., etc. Nor is it alone the universities of Catholic countries that are thus represented in the ranks of the various orders now engaged in teaching and establishing colleges in this country; to our own knowledge graduates of Cambridge and Oxford, as well as of Heidelberg, Halle, and Jena, are to be found in the same ranks.

Does not this sufficiently account for that thoroughness of our Catholic colleges, of which we have spoken more than once in these pages, as well as for the growing liberal spirit to which we have alluded above? By this means Catholic students are afforded the advantage not only of having the most accomplished instructors; they are also enabled to profit by the improvements in education made in all the countries of Europe, Protestant and Catholic. Thus, the professors in our Catholic theological seminaries, who have devoted years to the study of philosophy themselves at Louvaine, Bruges, Prague, Padua, or Rome, as the case may be, naturally wish to subject their American students to the same preliminary training. We are reminded of several illustrations of this by the Catholic catalogues before us; but one or two will suffice for our readers. Taking up the catalogue of St. Vincent's Collegiate and Theological Seminary, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania—an institution conducted by those famed Benedictines who have educated so large a number of the greatest thinkers and most illustrious personages of modern times—we find the following under the head of "Ecclesiastical Course:—"

"This course, which embraces the philosophical and theological studies, is completed in three years.

FIRST YEAR.—Logic, metaphysics, ethics, instructions of exegesis, ecclesiastical history, a cursory reading of Cicero's philosophical works, Plato's dialogues, history of philosophy, and philosophy of history."

Now, be it remembered that the student is required to be well acquainted with the classics before he commences his three years' course. The second year Hebrew is included in his studies, etc., so that before he is entitled to ordination he must be pretty well capable of exercising his

reasoning faculties. Glancing over the list of students who have pursued this course during the last term, we find that they have come from New York, Ohio, South Carolina, Illinois, Kentucky, etc.

Turning from Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, to Niagara County, New York, we find another theological institution, called the Seminary of our Lady of Angels, which, as we learn from its catalogue, had its origin as follows: "Going from one part of the diocese to another, he (Rt. Rev. Dr. Lynch, the present bishop of Toronto) visited the Falls of Niagara. Struck by their grandeur, deeply impressed by the beauty of their romantic scenery, and convinced of the salubrity of the air, he ardently desired to see, located in the vicinity, a seminary in which young candidates for the priesthood might spend *their long years of study* without impairing their health." This seminary is now in a flourishing state, after having encountered obstacles which might have deterred even the most persevering and enthusiastic. What its standard of education is, may be inferred from the following extract from the catalogue :

"Our course of studies embraces all that is required to prepare the youthful candidate for the sacred ministry. Nevertheless, we have (although it be a deviation from the common system) united with our Seminary course the usual collegiate course. This we have done, first, because in the present state of this country, the priest requires a knowledge not only of those things which pertain especially to the sacred ministry, but also of all the branches of education useful to men of secular pursuits; and secondly, because many young men enter a seminary, thinking that they have a vocation to the priesthood, and after due examination find that such is not their calling. In this case, the studies they have pursued in a merely seminary course are inadequate to fit them for the different secular pursuits. These reasons, with others, have induced us to adopt the system of combining the collegiate with the seminary course. Hence, a young man may enter the Seminary and pursue his studies, and if it be the will of God that he become a minister of the altar, he has all the advantages of his two-fold education; but if, on the contrary, he feels that God requires his services in another capacity, he is qualified by the same system, to embrace any social profession. Notwithstanding this, as stated above, the institution is ecclesiastical, and the discipline, strict though mild, is such as is required for training young

candidates for God's holy ministry. We wish that this be well understood by parents and guardians, as well as by the students themselves."

In the Westmoreland institution the majority of the professors represent Catholic Belgium; in the Niagara institution the majority represent Catholic Ireland, the minority in each including Americans and the representatives of different other nationalities. The Catholic church has always acted strictly on the precept of making no difference between Trojan and Tyrian, and nowhere are its benefits more agreeably illustrated than in our Catholic colleges.

Pursuing our course farther to the west, we find the genius, perseverance and piety of France represented at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. The story of the Very Rev. E. Sorin, the founder of the institution, is like that of many other French missionaries, who have accomplished great results, for we learn from the prospectus before us that "when the Congregation of Holy Cross planted its standard in the St. Joseph's Valley, in 1842, the prospects of success were but moderate; but the founder of the college, poor in purse, yet rich in zeal and energy, strong in his confidence in God, and in his devotion to the Queen of heaven, the help of Christians, to whom he dedicated the great enterprise he was then beginning, has seen the college gradually expand to its present growth, and gain the confidence of all who have patronized it."

The University now ranks among the best educational institutions in the United States. It is by no ordinary efforts this success has been attained. Not content with performing the arduous duties of a professor, the distinguished founder has also established a periodical \* which is printed and published in the college, and read by respectable Catholic families in all parts of the United States and British America. In glancing over some recent numbers of the "*Ave Maria*," we find in that for last week (dated Sept. 5), a letter in the Latin language from Pius IX., to the students of Notre Dame, in which they are addressed, *Dilecti Filii*, (Beloved Sons), in reply to a letter which they had addressed

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\* The *Ave Maria*.

His Holiness, in the same language, some time previously. This, we need hardly remark, would be considered an honour by the students of the most ancient universities of Europe. We quote one sentence from the Pope's letter, as evincing the spirit in which the students are addressed: "Apply yourselves, therefore, zealously to the study of letters and the sciences, but even more zealously to piety, lest you be puffed up by a vain knowledge, and show yourselves docile to your teachers, who devote themselves entirely to your interests." \*

There is another important institution which Dr. Sorin has also been instrumental in establishing; we mean St. Mary's Academy, which is under the direction of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and delightfully situated within about a mile of the University. Having availed ourselves of the honour of an invitation to visit the Academy, as well as the college, some three years since, while on a western tour, we can assure our readers that the following graphic description, which we extract from the catalogue, is not in the least exaggerated:

"The site of St. Mary's is one to extort the admiration of every beholder. It would appear that nature had anticipated the use to which the grounds were to be applied, and had disposed her advantages to meet the requirements of such an establishment. Magnificent forest trees rising from the banks of one of the most beautiful rivers in the Mississippi Valley still stand in native grandeur; the music of bright waters and healthful breezes inspire activity and energy, while the quiet seclusion invites to reflection and study.

"The landscape is unparalleled in loveliness, diversified by shrub and vine, noble forest trees, bright, deep, green swards, and all that renders rural scenes so charming, united with the embellishments of art which serve to bring out, yet not to mar or supersede, the perfections bestowed by nature. Eighty acres are laid out in fine pleasure grounds, where extensive grape-arbors, numerous rustic oratories, summer-houses, and fountains, are presented to the eye like fair gems in a rich enamel of verdure.

"The building, of brick with stone dressing, spacious and commodious, is one of the best constructed in the country for educational purposes. Every portion of the institution is heated by steam, and hot and cold baths are connected with the sleeping apartments."

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\* *Alacriter itaque incumbite in litterarum ac scientiæ studia; et etiam alacrius in pietatem, ne vana inflemimini scientia, vosque dociles præbete præceptoribus, qui totos se devovent utilitati vestræ.*



But what most agreeably surprised us was the excellent system of teaching pursued at the Academy, and the substantial and elegant results of that system. We really indulge in no exaggeration when we say that it seemed to us as if the most accomplished and highly-gifted Sisters in the United States, native and foreign, had been carefully selected for St. Mary's. Surely, thought we, the founder of two such institutions as this and Notre Dame University, may well be regarded as a benefactor, not merely of any particular denomination, but of mankind.

Coming nearer home, we find another institution which may also be regarded as one of the happy results of French genius and piety. In all periods of her history, France has evinced a friendly sympathy for Ireland. The most eloquent of the French historians approvingly recognize this feeling, and generously encourage it. Thus, for example, there is not a nobler, or more poetical passage in Michelet's History than his tribute to Erin and her sons in the fine disquisition on the Celtic race, at the beginning of the work. But nowhere is this feeling more agreeably manifested than in our Catholic colleges and seminaries. Thus, Father Sorin evinces as implicit and affectionate confidence in the learning, fidelity and piety of Irishmen as in those of the most favored of his own countrymen; and he has at least as many of the former as of the latter associated with him in his great enterprise.

The same friendship and good-will find a happy illustration in the other institution to which we allude, namely, Manhattan College, conducted by the Christian Brothers, an Order founded by the good and pious De La Salle, and surpassed by none in its devotion to the great cause of education. As we have given our impressions of this institution more than once, suffice it to say now, that those impressions have undergone no change. We know no institution of any denomination that does its work more conscientiously or more effectually; no educators work harder, earlier, or later, than the Christian Brothers; and of none can it be more truly said that all they do for education is "a labor of love."

We have before us a printed copy of an excellent address

delivered to the graduates of Manhattan College at its last commencement by the Hon. Charles O'Connor, the distinguished advocate. It has seldom been our privilege to hear so appropriate a speech on a similar occasion. The veteran jurist indulged in no ambitious flights, introduced no irrelevant matter, but clothed happy thoughts in language at once forcible, chaste, and effective. Limited as our space necessarily is, in an article in which we have to allude to so many institutions, we cannot forego the pleasure of extracting a passage or two from Mr. O'Connor's address. Referring briefly to the diploma and the duty of the college, the orator continues :

"This morning you were her children; to-morrow you depart from her guardianship and enter a class not under her control, where you and she will be alike on trial. Stern judges, animated by neither favor nor affection, will there pass upon your merits and her capacity to appreciate them. When, solely dependent on your own resources, you shall thus stand beyond these precincts in the midst of rivals, I trust you will exhibit to society the same habits and the same industrious devotion to the duties of life that your preceptors have exacted here. You may thus insure the most beneficial results—profit to yourselves and honor to the teachers by whom you are accredited."

Alluding to the creditable manner in which the students acquitted themselves during the examinations, which continued several days, Mr. O'Connor pays them the following tribute :

"The ancient classics and modern literature, the effect of great historic events, the march of science, the influence of art, the characters and deeds of mighty warriors and illustrious statesmen, as well as the genius and productions of distinguished writers in history and illustrative fiction, have engaged your powers. On these interesting themes you have displayed much earnest, sober, and dispassionate thought."

We can only make room for one extract more. Toward the close of his address, the orator adverts to the contiguity of the institutions of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Jesuit Fathers, and the Christian Brothers :

"But in each of these four societies there is a peculiar charm. The members of each renounce the pursuit of wealth or personal distinction.

By vows of perpetual chastity, and obedience to the rules of their order they fasten a curb upon all human desires that might distract attention. Then comes a pledge to the performance of their sacred duties without hire or compensation, during every hour of their lives, with their entire mental capacity, their whole hearts and all their strength. It should excite no surprise that the men and the women sent forth to their allotted stations in the world, after full terms of pupilage under such instructors, are models of propriety. How admirable the system! Two, three, or four years of adolescence, when impressions sink deepest, are employed in the punctual observance of methods the best calculated to promote the physical and mental health, and in habits of the purest morality, with a constant example of earnest piety set before the eye and courting imitation. This formative discipline is accompanied by instruction in useful learning, with as much of elegant accomplishments as individual capacity and condition may justify. Hardly by any instructors less exclusively devoted to the ends in view could such a system be conceived, much less carried into full execution."

The Christian Brothers have two other colleges in this country—one at St. Louis, Missouri, the other at Ellicott's Mills, Maryland. That at St. Louis ranks with the best similar institutions of the South. The most intelligent of the local papers, daily and weekly, devote columns to appreciative reports of its commencement examinations. Much as they praise the college, we are convinced from what we know of the reverend president, and some of his assistants, that they do not exaggerate its worth and efficiency. But we have quite as much confidence in what the Brothers tell us of themselves, as we have in the statements of any others, however impartial or reliable, and accordingly we extract the following paragraph from the catalogue, without having the slightest doubt of its truthfulness:

"The various arts and sciences usually taught in colleges find here an appropriate place in a system of education established by experience, conducted on the most approved plan, and with a devotedness commensurate with the greatness of the work engaged in. By reason of the great number of classes, a thorough gradation for all capacities and requirements has been attained, and the frequent examinations and promotions beget emulation, the soul of advancement, making labor a pleasure and success a certainty."

In short, as long as the Christian Brothers in America have a provincial like the gentleman who occupies that posi-

tion at present, and under whose judicious and enlightened auspices Manhattan College has attained its present confessedly high rank, we have not the least doubt that their educational efforts will continue to reflect more and more honor on themselves, securing them at the same time the gratitude of increasing thousands.

The transition from the Christian Brothers to the Jesuit Fathers is more abrupt than many would suppose. It is a great mistake, however, to think that we have any quarrel with the Jesuits or their colleges. We have merely applied some mild criticisms to two or three individuals of the Society. We did so because we thought it would do them good, and at the same time benefit the cause of education, and we are still of the same opinion. We do not deny for a moment that while disposed to honor those placed in honorable and exalted positions, we would criticise His Holiness the pope himself, if we thought he did wrong; but we have always regarded him as a benevolent, good man—one fully qualified in every respect to occupy the chair of St. Peter—and accordingly we have invariably spoken of him with deference and respect. That we would not shrink from criticising bishop, or archbishop, for the same reason, we believe we need hardly say, though never have we passed the slightest censure, in Europe or America, on more than one dignitary of the church. For this we claim no credit—to the dignitaries themselves be the credit and honor, since they owe their immunity to their virtues, and to the good they have done without ostentation—without being haughty, overbearing, or tyrannical either towards their clergy, or others whom they regarded as subject to their control.

As for the Jesuits, we have merely acted in accordance with their own *Institutes* in the slight chastisement we have inflicted on two or three of their number, since that famous work distinctly says, in good Latin, that when a member of the Society does wrong he should be corrected by a denizen of the outside world.\* It has been considered a grievous sin on our part, though not, we trust, like that against the Holy

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\* *Corrector externorum debet aliquis esse. Constitutiones, Tom. i. p. 159.*

Ghost—to suggest to all whom it might concern that the faculty of a Jesuit college might find some other science more worthy of a public ovation than that of billiard-playing; but we hope the reverend gentlemen have discovered before this, that after all, we were right. We have shown in these pages, that all such practices are strictly prohibited and emphatically condemned by the Institutes.\* Nay, we have shown that they are condemned by Pagan writers as vicious and demoralizing. Now we can add that they are condemned in several of the catalogues before us—in those both of Catholic and Protestant institutions. Thus, for example, none will say that the University of the City of New York is needlessly puritanical; no institution is more liberal or more indulgent to its students in anything that is right; yet one of its principal “regulations” is the following:

“Any student who frequents *billiard rooms*, taverns, or *other places of corrupting influence*, will not be allowed to remain a member of the University.”—p. 80.

Now, who will say that this is wrong? Will any intelligent father or guardian? Will the Rev. Father Maguire, who once took it upon him to punish us because we ventured to find fault with the billiard affair? This caused us to apprehend that Georgetown College—an institution of which we had always entertained a high opinion—would also betake itself to billiard playing, under its present auspices. Now we are satisfied that there is no danger. Changes have recently been made, which we regard as a guarantee that old Georgetown will continue to maintain that honorable reputation, for which none have been more willing to give it credit than we. We have made our criticisms on the president of Georgetown, and we will make no others until we think they are deserved, for we believe with honest old Horace, that although chastisement is a very good thing in its way, it ought not to be carried beyond certain bounds.†

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\* *Vide* Tom. ii. p. 359.; also Tom. i. p. 108.; Tom. vii. 269.

† In this view of the case we are also sustained by the *Institut Societatis Jesu*, which very properly says that the punishment must not be immoderate; *Ejus castigatio non sit immoderata*. Tom. ii. p. 18. *Reg.* 48. *Sum.* Elsewhere the

Adsit

Regula, peccatis, quæ poenas irroget æquas:

Nescutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.—Sat. 6. 1. 8.

In making some comments on Georgetown in our last number, we thought the provincial had not lately evinced his usual vigilance; but soon after we learned that he was unwell, and had been so for a considerable time. Although we have never seen the gentleman, or had any communication with him, we sincerely regretted his illness. We knew there must have been something wrong. Now we have a full explanation of "the enlargement of the play grounds and the embellishment of the towers." When the provincial having charge of Georgetown and Holy Cross was able to attend to his duties those institutions were differently managed from what they were lately. But recently he has delegated his authority to another gentleman who has evidently enlightened views; for he has brought back to the College some of those professors who, under wiser and abler auspices had contributed so much to its fame.

We abstained in our criticism from mentioning the names of these gentlemen lest we might be the cause of injuring rather than serving them, while our knowledge of them was limited to what we happened to see them teach in their classes, and to what we knew of the results of that teaching. To all who are acquainted with Georgetown it is sufficient to say now that under the new arrangement Father Kelly occupies the chair of rhetoric and belles lettres. We have not met with a better Grecian in this country than Father Kelly, and suffice it to say of his Latin that we have heard him translate Xenophon into that language to his class with a facility and elegance that reminded us of Cicero in his Tusculan villa discoursing with his friends. Father O'Hagan, another excellent educator and accomplished gentleman, has got charge of the discipline. Father Healy, who is lately from Maynooth, or the *Sapienza*, we forget which, superintends

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same authority says that some method should be observed in the correction.  
*Modus in eâ servandus. Reg. 28. Præp. et Reg., 26 et 27.*

the general studies. Father Clark, a graduate of West Point, under whose presidency the Holy Cross College obtained a charter from the Massachusetts legislature, and took rank among the best similar institutions in the United States, occupies the chair of mathematics, &c.

All this has fully restored our confidence in old Georgetown. We heartily thank the acting provincial in the name of the best friends of education, and we accompany our thanks with the following quotation from Lord Bacon, than whom there was no better judge of education in his time. "For the doctrine of school learning it were the shortest way to refer to the Jesuits." \*

To this we can only add in reference to the Jesuits, that we hear a good report from Loyola College at Baltimore under the enlightened auspices of Father Early; and that the catalogues of Fordham and St. Xavier's near home, do not contain half as much defective English as they used some time ago. We wish they would improve equally in other respects. Thus, for example; when they invite persons to attend their commencements, why not provide them with seats? Three times we have presented our tickets at St. Xavier's, in Fifteenth Street, duly signed and countersigned, but the servant-maids and their beaux monopolized all the good seats. We like Biddy and Judy, Pat and Mike, very well in their places; we think none are better. But when we have to struggle with them for a seat and hear their rather emphatic comments at a college commencement, we think there is something wrong, and are very apt to pick up our hat and walk out; especially when we see the faculty mounted in a sort of gallery far above our head, as if they were preparing to take an excursion in a balloon *ad lunam*. At no other college, or seminary, that we have ever attended have we seen such a spectacle as this.

We find we have devoted more space to our Catholic colleges and seminaries than we had intended—so much, indeed, that we have little left for our Protestant colleges. We are not sorry, however; we think we have shown that there is

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\* Bacon's Works, vol. I., section xix. *Criticism on School Learning.*

good, satisfactory reason for the progress made by the Catholic church in this country. We should remember, at the same time, that it is nothing new for priests and monks to found colleges. It was they who founded the greatest in the world, including those which are now the glory of the most enlightened Protestant countries. Both Oxford and Cambridge were founded by those very monks whom it has been so much the fashion, in modern times, to decry as useless, if not dangerous men. We have a letter now before us, and which we shall be glad to present to our readers, that reminds us of the struggles of those zealous, good men, as shown by various Latin manuscripts which still exist in the archives of those famous seats of learning. Although the communication we allude to is written by the president of one of our Catholic seminaries, most of its suggestions are applicable to all colleges that have to depend on their own efforts for their support; and accordingly, not doubting that it will be read with interest, we subjoin it here:

“EDW. I. SEARS, LL.D.,

“Dear Sir:—You mentioned in your last letter to me, that you intended to write an article on our colleges; I hope that you will not think me presumptuous if I offer some suggestions. First, I think that you could benefit both colleges and patrons of colleges by making your article contain a practical *instruction* on *education* rightly understood. You will benefit our colleges because too many of us forget that education, according to the wants of the country, is *the great object* to be held in view by us. We make the success of our institution our sole object. We forget that the institution is merely the instrument with which we obtain the proposed end, *true education*. This makes us overlook many defects in our courses of studies, in our methods of teaching, in our choice of professors, and, above all, in our government of the youth entrusted to our tuition. I know institutions in which this is the status; attention should be called to this.

“In the second place you will benefit the patrons of colleges. There are many of those who send their sons to college, who never stop to inquire if the college they propose, for the education of their children, be the one in which a true education can be obtained. Frequently a very unimportant circumstance will decide the choice. Frequently the price has much to do with the decision. Some think that because the price is high in one college, therefore, it is the best, and *vice versa*; others think that colleges should not charge such high prices, and, therefore, the cheapest



is the most consistent. You see that this is a serious evil and should be ventilated.

"Another point that needs a particular mention is, the difficulty of conducting our colleges. This arises from many causes. First I may mention, insufficiency of means. Very few indeed of our colleges, especially Catholic, have any endowments. Therefore they are obliged to render themselves self-sustaining by charging a certain sum for tuition, etc. This is the financial part of the institution. It, in our present state, is so *essential* that no institution can advance, unless a good financier be at the head of it. What is, then, the effect of this? The first effect is that those who should be occupied in teaching and planning for the literary or scientific advancement of the students are taken up with the perplexing difficulties of getting something to feed them with! Some of the very best men of the institution are thus employed. This should not be the case, and, until our colleges are so endowed that those who conduct them will be freed from the great difficulties of supporting them materially as well as scientifically and literally, much of their efficiency will be cut off, and thus, the people will suffer even more than the institutions.

"A second effect is a very pernicious one. From the very fact or effort of trying to support itself the institution grows into a mere *money-making* concern. This is natural. It is the case with every institution, literary or political, that has to labor for money. The point where money-making should cease is hard to find, and many institutions manage to keep so far from it, that they never find it.

"The people never think of this. Indeed, they do not understand it if they do think of it, and yet nothing should have more influence upon their choice of a college for their sons than this very consideration. It is certain that, if they send their sons to an institution where money-making has become the ruling spirit, their sons will reap but little more benefit from being in such an institution than they would from studying at home.

"Thus all parties suffer from this evil. I have said that the people do not think of this, and yet nothing is more important. They should be made to reflect upon it. I mean not only the *generality* of the people, but even those who, from education and intercourse with our colleges, ought to know this. The remedy for the evil may be far distant; but it must come from the people. They must learn to support the institutions in such a manner that those who sincerely devote themselves to their proper duties will receive their patronage and support.

"I could call your attention to other points, but these seem to me to be more needed just now. I speak of this simply because I wish sincerely the public good. If I were permitted to present the matter to the public, I would endeavor to bring out many of those things which are now not noticed."

Our pages will always be open to any educator who dis-

cusses the subject in so liberal and enlightened a spirit as the author of the above letter.

We are not aware that St. John's college, Annapolis, Maryland, represents any denomination further than that we believe its principal professors, if not its whole faculty, are Episcopalians. At all events, it makes no difference to us what its religious creed may be, as long as we are satisfied that it does good educational work. St John's is one of the oldest institutions in this country, having been founded towards the close of the seventeenth century. Like nearly all Southern colleges, it received but little support during the war. The trustees have adopted a very good means of "building it up," in electing, as its president, James C. Welling, LL., D., of Washington, a gentleman who combines literary talent of a high order with ripe scholarship. Since the election of Dr. Welling, the board has issued "An Appeal to the People of Maryland," a copy of which is now before us, together with the catalogue. Did our space permit us, we would gladly point out some of the inducements offered by the institution; as it is, we must confine ourselves to the following extract from the "Appeal:—"

"The Faculty of the College consists at present of seven professors, including the principal, and one tutor. The number of pupils who have matriculated in the institution during the scholastic year that has just closed, is one hundred and fifteen. The success which has already attended their efforts since the reorganization of the College in the year 1866, affords to the Board the augury of a still greater success in the year before them, if the friends of education in Maryland shall lend to the efforts of the Board and of the Faculty that countenance and support which it is believed may now be justly claimed on behalf of the institution committed to their care. With a faculty at once learned and efficient in the discharge of their duties, with ample buildings, representing a money value of \$200,000, tasteful in their architecture and fitted for the comfortable reception and entertainment of two hundred pupils; with adjacent grounds whose natural beauty of situation has been heightened by art; with a system of free scholarships not only unsurpassed, but, it is believed, unequalled by that of any American college, the authorities of St. John's confidently commend it to the patronage and support of the friends of education in Maryland, under a profound sense of the necessity which exists for such an institution as they have sought to create, and an equally full assurance that they have done much to meet that necessity.

Limited as have been the resources of the College since the resumption of its duties in 1810, the Board point with undissembled pride to the large proportion of its graduates, who, since that date, as well as in the earlier period of its history, have risen to eminence in every walk of public and private life—adorning the bench, the bar, the pulpit, the halls of legislation, both State and Federal; and within the last few weeks, at the unanimous call of his countrymen, contributing one among the most illustrious of her sons to represent the nation at the proudest court of Europe. The record of the past is an earnest of brighter auguries for the future, and constitutes a cogent plea in favor of conferring upon St. John's College the opportunity of wider power for good."

Returning again to New York, we open the Annual Report of the president of Columbia College, and we are pleased to see, even from a hasty glance, that the institution is improving under the auspices of the Rev. Dr. Barnard. The Report contains several passages which we should like to present to our readers, with such comments as they suggest to us; but we can only make room for two brief extracts, and fortunately these need no comment:

"The total number of students embraced in the roll of the college and its associated schools during the past year has been 767; of whom 319 were members of the school of medicine, 182 were members of the school of law, 126 were members of the school of mines, and 140 belonged to the undergraduate department, or school of the liberal arts. This latter number is stated in the annual catalogue at 144; but of these there were four who failed to matriculate, and who were dropped from the roll. The number for the year ending in June, 1867, was exactly the same. The distribution among the several classes was as follows:—seniors, 27; juniors, 27; sophomores, 32; freshmen, 44."

Further on some remarks are made by Dr. Barnard which are worthy the attention of all who take an interest in education. It will be seen that the president of Columbia frankly admits that the non-resident system is not favorable to the formation of gentlemanly habits:

"The characteristic of the students of this college noticed in the report of the undersigned two years ago, viz., that they apparently bring with them more of the habits of the school, and maintain them longer, here than elsewhere, continues to be true of them still. It is perhaps beyond the reach of college influences effectually to correct this evil. Where a student body is non-resident, there fails to grow up spontane-

ously that tone of superior dignity which marks the bearing of at least the more advanced classes in educational institutions in which the student body constitute a permanent community, and which leads them to look with a kind of mild disdain upon acts of childish and unmeaning disorder. And little can be done by the authorities to promote the growth of this feeling, since, during the few hours of the daily attendance of the students at the college, they are constantly engaged in the exercises of the class-room."

The University of the City of New York is not so wealthy as Columbia. It has, indeed, no wealth except that of intellect and knowledge. When its present venerable and energetic chancellor was elected, some twelve years since, it was deeply in debt, but we are glad to know that there are no longer any claims against it, and that it was never in a more prosperous condition, in all its departments, than it is at the present moment. No institution in America can boast abler professors; no institution anywhere performs its duties more faithfully, or in a more cosmopolitan spirit.

Speaking of wealthy colleges reminds us that Yale seems destined to surpass all other literary institutions in this country, not excepting old Columbia, in the extent of its pecuniary resources. The amount of its donations since 1860, is enormous. In a pamphlet now before us, entitled "Yale in 1868," there is a long list of "benefactors," although no one has the honor of appearing in it who has not contributed \$5,000, or more. Joseph Battell has contributed \$36,000; Wm. A. Buckingham, \$25,000; Simeon B. Chittenden, \$30,000; Henry Farnham, \$36,264 72; George Peabody, \$150,000; Joseph E. Sheffield, \$161,000, &c.

Yale is undoubtedly a very respectable institution, and we wish it success, but it is certainly nothing better, either in its scholarship, its system of teaching, or its morals, than many other colleges in the United States that have not received as much as one of these donations during the whole period. In our opinion, it may thank its luck much more than its merit. Man is an imitative animal; men who have a superabundance of money are quite as much so as others. One gives a donation to a college, for perhaps no better reason than that his son or grandson once

got into a fight in it, and broke somebody's nose or his head. As a matter of course, he is lauded to the skies as a friend of education, a benefactor of mankind, &c. Others think how pleasant it would be to be talked of in the same way, and accordingly they vie with each other in writing large checks, and long letters to accompany them.

It may be all different in the present case; but, be this as it may, there are several colleges in New England and elsewhere in this country whose diploma we would rather have for our son, or our ward, than that of Yale, although we hold that there is not a State in the Union more enterprising, spirited, and intelligent, in proportion to its extent and population, than that to which the latter institution belongs. Thus, for example, we would certainly have more confidence in the diploma of Harvard, or of the University of New York; we would expect higher culture from it, and much more gentlemanly manners. That money has a tendency to soften, if not refine, the manners, or brighten the intellect, far be it from us to deny; and, if it produce this effect on Yale,—as we hope it may,—none will be more ready than we to congratulate the institution on the plethoric state of its coffers.

We had intended to allude to about a dozen other catalogues; but we find on examination that they contain nothing claiming any particular notice. If we spoke of them at all, such is their character, notwithstanding the very small amount of matter which they contain, that we should criticise them; and were we even in a critical mood, while the mercury is above eighty, Fahrenheit, beside our desk, want of space would preclude us from indulging it.

We must not close, however, without an observation or two on our ladies' seminaries and colleges. We must confine ourselves to two or three, but these are of the representative class. The first female catalogue we happen to open is that of Vassar College. This is a highly respectable institution; certainly its liberal and munificent founder deserves to have his memory honorably preserved. Thus far, however, we cannot say much for the manner in which his very laudable wishes have been carried out. The catalogue be-

fore us is got up in fine style—evidently “regardless of expense.” The paper is faultless in its grain, nicely perfumed, yet rather *yellow* in its tinge to be emblematic of the fair maidens whose names adorn it. But we are bound to remember that the illustrations might not have appeared to so much advantage on white paper; besides it is possible that the brochure may have encountered some *smoke* on its way to us, and this would sufficiently account for the yellow hue.

The “pictures,” however, are very handsome. That of the “College Edifice,” which serves as a frontispiece, is sufficient by itself to induce many a fond mother to send her daughter to Poughkeepsie. But as a map of the world is generally given on the first page of an atlas, the maps of particular countries being given in the following pages, so in the catalogue of Vassar we have separate cuts of the different parts of the college, down even to the gateway and porter’s lodge. Thus, under the head of “Extra Collegiate, or Art Studies,” printed in capitals, we have a cut which purports to be that of an “Art Gallery”; under the head of “Health and Physical Training” we have a cut of the “Calisthenium,” &c. All is described in the letter press in a style at once minute and elevated; in short, of nothing does the whole affair remind us so forcibly as of a certain “Paradise” described by the poet—that,—

—“happy place

Where a light of its own gilds every face;

Or if some wear a shadowy brow,

’Tis the *wish* to look wise,—not knowing *how*.”

The success of Vassar College would afford us sincere pleasure, but ostentation and pompousness are not the best means of accomplishing success in any enterprise. We had much respect for Dr. John H. Raymond as the head of a boys’ school or institute, at Brooklyn. We thought him fully qualified for his position, but we confess we had some misgivings when we learned that he turned his attention from boys to girls. We should not, however, have made the least objection to him as one of the professors in a female school or even college; but it occurred to us that one who had experience in teaching girls or young ladies, would be better

qualified to preside at a female college. Need we say that what would be very passable taste in a boy's school might be execrable in a girl's school? Surely more refinement and delicacy are expected from young ladies than from boys or even young gentlemen; but must not the former as well as the latter take a part, at least, of their tone from the head of the institution in which they are educated.

Far be it from us to insinuate that Dr. Raymond would intentionally teach the young ladies under his charge any bad habits; all we allege is that he is liable, under the circumstances, to commit some awkward blunders while meaning to be very courteous and respectful. He has committed some, even in his catalogue, which are rather amusing. Thus, in the list of "Officers of Government and Instruction," he gives, "Hannah W. Lyman, *Lady* Principal." Now, in the name of common sense, does not any one know that *Hannah* is not the name of a *gentleman*? But assuming it to be necessary and proper to put "Lady" after Hannah, why is it not equally so to put it after *Maria* and *Alida*? Why not say, "*Maria* Mitchell, *Lady* Professor of Astronomy, and *Lady* Director of the Observatory," and, "*Alida* C. Avery, M. D., *Lady* Professor of Physiology and Hygiene and *Lady* Resident Physician?" Or why not say, *per contra*, "John H. Raymond, LL. D., *Gentleman* Principal," or *Gentleman* President?" This would at least be consistent.

With the same regard to propriety and chasteness, every word supposed to mean anything important has its initial letter a capital, such as, "Department," "Course," "Regular Course," "Theory," "Art," "Musical Theory," "Choral Class," "Music," "History," "Professor," "Library," etc. All these occur in the text in less than a page and a half (pp. 22, 23), without either beginning a sentence or forming a heading. As for "*Lady* Principal," "President," "Department," "College," "Professor," "Teacher," etc., they occur in almost every page, sometimes most of them in every sentence (*Vide* pp. 24, 25).

Some two or three years since we criticised certain of our male colleges for this sort of vulgarity, but they were sensible enough to take it in good part, admit their error

and avoid it in future ; so that now they do not use one capital for every twenty they were wont to use.\*

We hope the editor of the Vassar catalogue will become somewhat less inflated also in this respect, if only to suggest to the students that it is not *dress* or loud emphatic *talk* that constitutes a lady, but rather modesty and a somewhat subdued tone.

It is somewhat curious that in the same list of "Officers" Dr. Alida Avery and Maria Mitchell appear as "*Professors*," while Elizabeth L. Geigher and Jessie Usher appear as "*Teachers*," one of the Greek language, the other of the Latin language. Another lady appears in the same list as "*Instructor*;" and, between two "*Teachers*," as if she required to get occasional lessons, appears another who is styled "*Assistant to the Lady Principal*," whatever that may mean!

As for the curriculum of Vassar, it might satisfy the most learned of the German universities ; for our own part we can remember no branch of human knowledge which it does not include. When a young lady of sixteen can translate and write Greek and Latin, speak French, German, and Italian, calculate the orbits of comets and the occultations of Jupiter's satellites, &c., we think she is fairly entitled to a diploma. Yet it would seem that such a phenomenon would not be entirely new. Juvenal speaks of a lady who was so learned that she was able, singly, to relieve the moon when suffering an eclipse!

Una laboranti poterit succurrere lūnæ.

As for her logic, he says it was such that the grammarians yielded to her at once ; the rhetoricians were confuted, the whole company silenced ; neither lawyer nor crier could put in a word, &c.† But as Dr. Raymond is not only president of Vassar College, but also "*Professor of Mental and*

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\* Vide Nat. Qr. Rev. Nos. XVIII and XXII ; Arts. "Commencements of Colleges," etc.

† Cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis  
Turba tacet ; nec causicus, nec præco loquatur,  
Altera nec mulier.—Juv. *Sat.* vi. 438.



Moral Philosophy," we have some confidence that matters will not be allowed to go to extremes. Most readily do we admit that he is a discreet and modest gentleman; and then has he not the "Lady Principal," and the "Assistant to the Lady Principal," nay, the whole "Faculty," to aid him in arriving at a conclusion?

We confess that the transition from Vassar College to Dr. Van Norman's Young Ladies' School, in Thirty-Eighth street, New York, is quite a relief to us. Here there is no ostentation; no attempt to cast the University, or Columbia College into the shade, not to mention Gottingen or the French Academy. Yet, if we wanted a passage from some Latin author well translated, or any other piece of work which an educated, accomplished lady would be expected to perform, we should have much more faith in going to Thirty-Eighth street than to Poughkeepsie. The average number of pupils at the Van Norman school during the past year was 140, and we are glad to learn, that high as its character has been for years, it had never so efficient a corps of teachers, or so encouraging a prospect as it has for the school year just commenced.

It must not be supposed, however, that we would sneer at a good female institution merely because it is called a college; still less would we do so because it is a country college. We once criticised a female university which was situated in the most fashionable part of the Fifth Avenue; but that we did not do so on account of its name, is now sufficiently known.

We do not, for example, criticise Rutgers Female College; on the contrary, we say that it deserves to be supported for the good work it does. We have never been on very intimate terms with Dr. Pierce, its president; there have been years during which we had certainly no reason to abstain from criticising Rutgers under his auspices, had we thought it deserved it; but to this day we never have. We are glad to know that the institution is now in a condition which does much credit to his judgment, energy, and perseverance. We have before us a copy of his Address to the second graduating class of Rutgers Col-

lege, and it affords us pleasure to copy an extract or two from it, by way of contrast with the Vassar style of addressing young ladies. Speaking of the necessity of self-examination in the sense of the divine Plato, as well as of the Christian moralist, Dr. Pierce pertinently remarks :

"Therefore, in the course of a liberal education, the youth should be made to study the soul itself. Of what avail is it that he study the globe, and the adaptation of its continents and isles to the great families of mankind ; that with the chemist, he analyze the varied forms of earth and air ; that with the naturalist, he study the grasses that clothe the earth, or the animals that feed upon them ; that with the geologist, he trace backward to the birth of time the changes of the globe, and read in the rocks and hills the history of the world before man was created ; that with the mathematician and geometrician, he investigate the numbers and forms in harmony with which the universe was made ; or that with the astronomer, he study the planetary or stellar systems ? 'What good to him to have searched the vast aerial domes, and traversed, in his soul, the heaven's infinity,' unless he study the soul itself, by whose powers he is enabled to comprehend these marvellous high works ?"

But the president of Rutgers utters still wiser and more useful words. He puts his students on their guard against allowing their education to lead them beyond their sphere, into the domain of the ruder sex—in a word, he warns them against the "Woman's Rights" mania. We are sorry we can only make room for a mere fragment :

"In my Baccalaureate address to the first graduating class of this College, and on other occasions, I trust I have sufficiently shown my sympathy with all judicious efforts to widen the sphere of woman ; but I am here constrained, in view of the feverish and disorganizing tendencies of the times, earnestly to impress upon you the great truth that, whether in circumstances of individual concern, or in those affecting the general condition of the sex, it is wisest and best for you to be in sympathy with the customs and laws written on your own souls, and approved by the wisdom of ages, rather than with those women who exhaust all their powers of thought and capacity of feeling, in an *absurd protest against the inexorable fact* that God in His wisdom *hath not made them men !*"

If all who have charge of female institutions would address their students in this spirit, there would be much less indelicacy than there is—much more modesty ; and we can

assure our educators that this is the wish of the American people. It is because so much of the "Woman's Rights" doctrine is taught both by precept and example at our female seminaries, that such a large number of the more thoughtful and enlightened class of Protestants, in all parts of the country, send their daughters to the Catholic convents, where they know they will be taught to comport themselves in a *womanly* manner; and it is for the opposite reason that so many of our seminaries fail, or only succeed at best in dragging out a sickly existence. Dr. Raymond would only have to turn his attention to the neighborhood of his late "Polytechnic Institute," to find more than one example of this, from which he may learn a useful lesson. Only a few brief years ago there was a flourishing female seminary on Brooklyn Heights, but if it exists now at all, it is only in a decrepit state. Within the same period the institutions of Drs. Van Norman and Pierce had a pretty hard struggle to sustain themselves, whereas now both flourish in vigorous but friendly rivalry.

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ART. VI.—*Reports of Strike-Meetings and other Documents*, 1868.

FROM time to time there appear in our daily papers accounts of associated "strikes" of employed persons for more wages, and less daily work, and lists of corresponding organizations of employers to protect rights which they claim likewise for themselves.

We do not intend to dwell upon these controversies, their spirit or their deeds, but considering the actual state of things bad, we propose to examine where justice and right lie,—what are the true principles which regulate the amount of wages,—and how we can determine it in any case of hiring.

We get no light on this, which one would think the main point, from the proceedings of the opposing associations, as we get no polity or statesmanship from political meetings. Misrepresenting crimination and recrimination, and the individual interest, self-aggrandizement, conceit, or vanity of the

managers, too often take the places of truth, fairness, and justice.

In a practical examination of the question of wages, there are a few underlying principles that must be recognized at the outset. First, The amount of wages depends on the class and kind of employment. Second, It must depend on community and locality, the state of the country, and the times.

The wages of modern times have increased with the wants of civilization—with its enlarged list of necessities—nay, with the changed physical conditions of climate and shelter that accompany its progress. When civilization is being transferred to a new country, and that country is being developed like the United States and Australia, the wages there will differ from those of old and crowded countries. And so it will be found where an activity of civilization is carried from its home into a stagnant though old community. This is the spirit of railroads and telegraphs. It acts when the citizen retires to the village or the farm; it will act when the novel, expanded, and far-reaching activity of Europe and America enter by the avenues now opening into the old kingdoms of Japan and of China.

Third. We must bear in mind that the masses of both the employés and the employers are fair. The workman really does not want to be paid too much, nor does the employer wish to pay too little, as a general thing. The real question between them, and the one we are examining, is, what are just and fair wages. There are incompetent, unreasonable, worthless, lazy and vicious workmen, as well as grasping, cruel, mean, ill-tempered and tyrannical employers, but in all practical social questions, and especially those of political economy, as strictly as in mathematical and philosophical ones, the wonderful doctrine of averages must be used. A lucky or an unlucky speculation, an honest, or alas, a dishonest contract, a war, an undiscovered theft or swindle, a local rise in property, a pandering to extravagance or vice, a price of fancy or necessity, the finding of a diamond or of an oil-well, a rich marriage, and the marvellous results of comprehensive, financial and commercial combination, are occurrences comparatively few in number, and like floods

and earthquakes, Borgias and Catilines, do not affect the general result.

Fourth. This is the great question of value; and all value has relation solely to man individually or socially: What is any thing worth to any man or to men? As all right of property comes to the first possessor by his adding his own labor to it in collecting it or digging it up, or cultivating, or making, or ornamenting it,—and to all successive possessors by their labor in fighting for and taking it by force, or by exchanging their own labor-values for it,—so labor is the source of all value. This last trite principle is practically and directly connected with this question of wages, and "strikes," and "boss-unions."

Fifth. The question and the opposition are really not between labor and something else, but between the rights of labor of different kinds, and in the different shapes, original, bought, or accumulated. The ability to employ others, whether arising from the possession of knowledge and skill, or money, is but one shape of labor: capital is a shape of labor.

Look how the principle of fairness lies at the bottom of the workman's seemingly unreasonable demands. He allows that his employer has a perfect right to an article of his own make, or a gift, or what he has exchanged his property for, or what he has bought with his own property in the shape of representative money, but he complains that the employer receives more than his proportion of the value or price of the goods manufactured; or, as the slang of the demagogue words it, "the capitalist grinds too much enormous profit out of the wages of the poor oppressed laborer." Mere words. We have no doubt he does sometimes; nor have we any doubt that the laborer often charges twice as much as his work is worth, and slights it at that, or twice as much for his time, and idles it away besides.

The employer has rights—but the fatal crime of the times, and it would seem of all modern nations, is, to legislate and to write and to speak, to excite obedience against authority, ignorance against knowledge, what they call lower classes against the higher, inferiors against superiors

in station, subjects against controlling government, the individual against restraining society and authority, the poor against the rich, the criminal against the law. And this crime takes the sacred name of progress, and misleads the cheated people. The true liberty on which only a nation can be happily founded, is an intelligent liberty that sees and guards all classes with an equal eye and arm. Have not false patriotism and legislation for votes gone far enough, and would it not be statesmanship to recognize the fact?

If the principle of acquired property in another's labor, which can be accumulated, or transferred by purchase like other property—and the fact of its always entering into the value of a structure built, or an article manufactured or sold, and of the products or results of labor in general, bodily and mental, both by making a part of the claim for wages by the workman, and also a part of the claim for profit by the employer—if, we say, this principle and these facts could be known and practically felt by the employed and the employer, the hard thoughts, the questions at issue, the quarrels, and the ill-temper and evil of protective unions, and masters' unions, and of strikes and combinations, would be done away with.

The laborer should know and feel that his daily work represents not only the value of what he does that day himself, but it represents also in part the labor or property of his parents and of himself in his childhood and youth; what it cost them or him while he was growing up large enough to work, and also while he was learning how to work, and all that learning cost them or him. Then he can calculate and claim all his rights and the full and proper amount of his wages. And the employer (the laborer probably of the year before), making the same calculations in his case, it will be seen that he has the represented labor, with its claims to be paid, of others, perhaps of many, who lived before him, and which claims have become his property in some way under the name of capital, accumulated and transferred, perhaps through several persons. He can now explain it and make his fair claims. It is only an arithmetical question of divi-

sion, what amount of labor the employer, and what amount the employed is to be paid for, in its different shapes.

With the above principles to guide us, let us now search for a practical answer to the plain question, What is at this time in the United States, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work? We will first take the simplest form, what is called uneducated labor, which does not require special instruction or apprenticeship.

In the United States, the man who has only his labor is born with the claim that his labor shall give him "life," his physical wants, food to keep him in good working condition, sufficient comfortable and decent clothing, and comfortable shelter; liberty, that is, his proportion of taxes for the support of a government—of statesmen but not of politicians—administration of justice at home and foreign protection; and the pursuit of happiness, which also appears in the shape of taxes for all the public expenses of social life and civilization, roads, schools, hospitals, etc. More than that, he is entitled to the interest at current rates, not to the principal, on account of the impossibility in the aggregate, say seven per cent. per annum, upon that sum which it cost his parents as a gift to him, or himself if he had to support himself in his boyhood while he was growing up.

We find all this can be readily calculated upon the single, simple datum of the price of board for the different classes of occupations. This price will upon examination be found to be nicely graduated upon a sliding scale, that takes in the occupation, the times, the locality, the season. We find also that the clothing required by any condition always bears a stated proportion to the board, say one-third. And so does his spending money for his improvement and amusement, the latter as much a necessity as the former, or to express it more broadly and philosophically, for the harmonious action and development of all his faculties. This item is less exact than the others, but it may be put down as equal to that for dress, one-third of the board. So much for his current claims.

From the same data it will be easy to calculate the amount of represented and accumulated expense of child-

hood, 14 years, and youth, 6 years, from birth up to the age of wages, say 20 years: children are boarded at half price till 14, and at full price afterwards. Such are the natural claims which stop with the individual; but the world must be replenished with men and women; half the children die before 5 years of age—two children would keep up the population, but even mothers allow it the chance of increase—so that we may allow the average of four children born to each man and woman, especially as the wife's proportion of such expenses will in like manner be calculated and allowed as her wages, and we must calculate the cost of bringing up the two children that will live, to the age of work. The man's proportion of this item will be four-sevenths, considering the woman's necessary withdrawal from work. And now come in the data of vital statistics, slightly used before; and our inquiries take a more scientific turn. We must now know how long the uneducated laborer will live to want wages, or support; here the Census Tables show us, so as to know how long he will require the above expenses of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We must also know what will be the annual price or premium of what is called an endowment life policy of assurance, or one payable at a certain age selected, (or at death if it happen before that age is reached,) so as to furnish enough money to meet the laborer's above weekly expenses during the rest of his life, between the age at which he can no longer work, which age we must also know from vital statistics, and the age at his death. In the class of labor first to be discussed, the laborer in town or city can work during his whole average life, and will on an average be sick only about 13 weeks of that time.

We must also know how many days in a year on an average he can work. In this class it will be, say three hundred. The difference is in indoor and outdoor work.

At the manufactories of the beautiful painted porcelain wares, the painters are not permitted to work at their trade more than seven years, on account of the deleterious effects of the materials they use for their colors. The poison of the compound used by the friction match factories forbade,



under the penalties of frightful disease, the devotion of more than a few years to the work. Lately, however, the lucky invention of a French chemist suggested, as the two ingredients were harmless by themselves, the putting of one of them on the match and the other on the rough rubber whose attrition supplied the heat, and thus the chemical union which made the poison took place only at the moment of their destruction by ignition: just as the dangerous explosive union of the gases, oxygen and hydrogen, is rendered safe by uniting them only at the point of burning. But these extreme cases of dangerous occupations must remain exceptions and occupy only a small part of the labor time of life, while their operatives turn to other trades. The painter's trade is familiar to every one in its limits, and is more to the point which we are illustrating.

Society has need of a careful list of the average lives, and the number of years of work, and the number of days of work in a year, and the classified prices of board of the respective occupations in the United States. We have statistical societies that can collect and furnish such a list from study, inquiry, and observation.

TABLE I.

*Showing the expectancy or average duration of Life of each individual; calculated from the Carlisle Table of Mortality.*

| Age.   | Expec. | Age. | Expec. | Age. | Expec. | Age. | Expec. |
|--------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Birth. | 88½    | 20   | 41½    | 40   | 27½    | 60   | 14½    |
| 1      | 44½    | 21   | 40½    | 41   | 27     | 61   | 14     |
| 2      | 47½    | 22   | 40     | 42   | 26½    | 62   | 13½    |
| 3      | 50     | 23   | 39½    | 43   | 26     | 63   | 13     |
| 4      | 50½    | 24   | 38½    | 44   | 25½    | 64   | 12½    |
| 5      | 51½    | 25   | 38     | 45   | 24½    | 65   | 11½    |
| 6      | 51½    | 26   | 37½    | 46   | 24     | 66   | 11½    |
| 7      | 51     | 27   | 36½    | 47   | 23½    | 67   | 10½    |
| 8      | 50½    | 28   | 35½    | 48   | 22½    | 68   | 10½    |
| 9      | 49½    | 29   | 35     | 49   | 22     | 69   | 9½     |
| 10     | 49     | 30   | 34½    | 50   | 21½    | 70   | 9½     |
| 11     | 49     | 31   | 33½    | 51   | 20½    | 71   | 8½     |
| 12     | 47½    | 32   | 33     | 52   | 19½    | 72   | 8½     |
| 13     | 46½    | 33   | 32½    | 53   | 19     | 73   | 7½     |
| 14     | 45½    | 34   | 31½    | 54   | 18½    | 74   | 7½     |
| 15     | 45     | 35   | 31     | 55   | 17½    | 75   | 7      |
| 16     | 44½    | 36   | 30½    | 56   | 17     | 76   | 6½     |
| 17     | 43½    | 37   | 29½    | 57   | 16½    | 77   | 6½     |
| 18     | 43     | 38   | 29     | 58   | 15½    | 78   | 6      |
| 19     | 42½    | 39   | 28½    | 59   | 15     | 79   | 5½     |

TABLE II.

*Showing the expectation of life in England in 24 trades and occupations, within decennial periods of ages from 20 to 60; and the average number of days of sickness in the same.*

|                         | Will<br>Live<br>at<br>Age<br>of 20. | Sickness<br>from<br>20 to 30. | Live at<br>30. | Sickness<br>from<br>30 to 40. | Live at<br>40. | Sickness<br>from<br>40 to 50. | Live at<br>50. | Sickness<br>from<br>50 to 60. | Live at<br>60. |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Eng. & Wales, gen. av.  | 39 yrs.                             |                               | 38 yrs.        |                               | 26½ yrs.       |                               | 20 yrs.        |                               | 13½ yrs.       |
| Manchester Unity, av.   | 41 "                                | 7 wks.                        | 34 "           | 9 wks.                        | 26½ "          | 12½ wks.                      | 19½ "          | 27 wks.                       | 18 "           |
| Bakers.                 | 49 "                                | 5 "                           | 34 "           | 7 "                           | 26½ "          | 15 "                          | 20 "           | 27 "                          | 14 "           |
| Blacksmiths.            | 38 "                                | 7½ "                          | 30 "           | 8 "                           | 23½ "          | 11 "                          | 18 "           | 24½ "                         | 18 "           |
| Bricklayers.            | 38 "                                | 6½ "                          | 29½ "          | 8½ "                          | 23½ "          | 12½ "                         | 15 "           | 29½ "                         | 6½ "           |
| Butchers.               | 41½ "                               | 4 "                           | 33½ "          | 5 "                           | 26 "           | 10 "                          | 20 "           | 17 "                          | 15 "           |
| Carpenters.             | 45 "                                |                               | 38½ "          |                               | 31½ "          |                               | 25½ "          |                               | 19 "           |
| Clerks & Schoolmasters. | 35 "                                | 4 "                           | 28 "           | 6 "                           | 20½ "          | 11 "                          | 14 "           | 18 "                          | 12 "           |
| Coopers.                | 38½ "                               | 6½ "                          | 31 "           | 10 "                          | 24 "           | 18½ "                         | 18 "           | 24 "                          | 18 "           |
| Dyers.                  | 40 "                                | 5 "                           | 32½ "          | 6½ "                          | 25 "           | 14½ "                         | 18 "           | 31 "                          | 18 "           |
| Hatters.                | 39 "                                | 5½ "                          | 34 "           | 7½ "                          | 28 "           | 15½ "                         | 20 "           | 23 "                          | 18 "           |
| Laborers, town & city.  | 41 "                                | 7½ "                          | 33½ "          | 10½ "                         | 26 "           | 14½ "                         | 19 "           | 27 "                          | 18 "           |
| " rural.                | 45 "                                | 7 "                           | 38 "           | 10 "                          | 30 "           | 14 "                          | 22 "           | 28½ "                         | 16 "           |
| Millwrights.            | 40 "                                | 6 "                           | 33 "           | 8 "                           | 27 "           | 18 "                          | 19½ "          | 14 "                          | 18½ "          |
| Mill operatives.        | 33 "                                | 5 "                           | 30½ "          | 7 "                           | 22½ "          | 13 "                          | 15½ "          | 18 "                          | 10½ "          |
| Miners.                 | 38 "                                | 11 "                          | 31 "           | 15 "                          | 24 "           | 25 "                          | 18 "           | 43 "                          | 12 "           |
| Plumbers.               | 38 "                                | 7 "                           | 31 "           | 8 "                           | 24½ "          | 17½ "                         | 18 "           | 38½ "                         | 1½ "           |
| Potters.                | 36½ "                               | 8 "                           | 30½ "          | 12 "                          | 24 "           | 24 "                          | 19 "           | 44 "                          | 14 "           |
| Printers.               | 37 "                                | 5 "                           | 29 "           | 7½ "                          | 20½ "          | 16 "                          | 14½ "          | 31½ "                         | 12 "           |
| Sawyers.                | 40 "                                | 7 "                           | 33 "           | 11 "                          | 26 "           | 14 "                          | 18 "           | 18 "                          | 18 "           |
| Domestic Servants.      | 43 "                                | 5 "                           | 34 "           | 7 "                           | 27 "           | 10 "                          | 21 "           | 23 "                          | 15 "           |
| Shoemakers.             | 41 "                                | 7½ "                          | 34 "           | 8 "                           | 26 "           | 13 "                          | 19 "           | 23 "                          | 18 "           |
| Spinners.               | 39 "                                | 6½ "                          | 32½ "          | 9½ "                          | 25 "           | 18 "                          | 18 "           | 35 "                          | 10 "           |
| Stonemasons.            | 38 "                                | 7 "                           | 30 "           | 11 "                          | 24 "           | 16 "                          | 18 "           | 40 "                          | 15 "           |
| Tailors.                | 39 "                                | 7 "                           | 32½ "          | 9 "                           | 25 "           | 13 "                          | 18 "           | 19½ "                         | 10 "           |
| Weavers.                | 42 "                                | 7 "                           | 35½ "          | 10 "                          | 25½ "          | 18½ "                         | 22 "           | 31 "                          | 15½ "          |
| Wheelwrights.           | 41 "                                | 7½ "                          | 34 "           | 9 "                           | 27½ "          | 8 "                           | 19 "           | 9 "                           | 14 "           |
| Woodcombers.            | 38½ "                               | 10½ "                         | 34 "           | 9 "                           | 26 "           | 16½ "                         | 17½ "          | 31 "                          | 18 "           |

We give above a table of the general length of life to be expected at any age from birth to seventy-nine years. Also a table showing the general length of life in England and Wales, the actual length of life among the thousands of members of the Manchester (Eng.) Unity of Odd Fellows, and the different expectations of life between the ages of 20 and 30, 30 and 40, 40 and 50, 50 and 60, as shown in twenty-five different trades and occupations in England. We have also inserted in the last table, as germane to the matter in hand, the different average number of days of sickness in a year in those trades and periods of age. These were published by H. Radcliffe, Secretary of the last named Society. Similar subjects are treated of in Mr. Ansell's "Treatise on Friendly Societies in England," Mr. Nieson's "Vital Statistics," and with more or less extent and particularity in several other publications and articles in Europe and in the United States. A table showing the rate of annual premiums which our life insurance companies charge

on a sum payable at the attainment of any given age, or at death, if it occur before, will be found in the manual of any insurance company whose prospectus appears in this journal. These tables are sufficient for illustration, so far as vital statistics are concerned, of our principles of the measure of wages of labor.

An endowment policy premium adds very little to the amount of wages to be claimed, yet it is an investment, a savings bank, and an insurance. An isolated operative with no heirs to provide for, may pay his little annual part of his wages for a large deferred annuity after he has done the active work of his life.

The use of life insurance and annuities enters in England into the calculations of every family that has forecast enough to make any economical calculations at all; they are getting into use in the United States quite extensively, and should be encouraged in every way.

Another element of the calculation of wages is the tools which the laborer furnishes, if any, their first cost, its interest, and the cost of keeping them supplied and in order.

The above are the just and fair limits of the wages claims of mere labor, that is, all that labor has any right to. An operative gets his day's wages, say \$4, for labor on an article for ten days, and receives \$40. He sees his employer sell that same article for \$100; and he feels that he has been oppressed, ground down by having only 40 per cent. of its great price paid to himself, whose labor, as he says, made it and its value. But his mistake is that his labor did not make all its value, very often not so large a proportion of it as he himself received in wages: the general proof of this is that employers of many operatives often fail in business. Price is a very complicated result of various laborers, that need not be mentioned here, from the time the materials of wood, or minerals, or animals are collected from nature, transported and freighted by individual skill, social insurance, and public protection, and stored and advertised and sold and realized by various distinct investments of other labor, apprenticeship and wages, and capital with its interest and riches and guarantees, every one of

which has its claims for wages out of that price aggregate which the workman sees the consumer pay and his employer receive, and with which he compares his own disproportionate claims only.

He begins at the wrong end; the claims of labor come by themselves and from themselves, without reference to the products of that labor and what is done with them, or the price received for them. When this principle is understood the labor question will be very much simplified and easier of settlement.

Let us now on the above principles cipher out the amount of daily wages that uneducated labor in the United States can claim. The average life of this class is  $46\frac{1}{2}$  years; the average number of years of work is 45 years; the average days of work in this climate in a year is 250. The price of *board* in the city of New York is \$4.50 a week or \$234 a year; *clothes*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of that, \$78 a year; *money* for improvement and amusement,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of board, \$78 a year; amount of transmitted property from his parents, on investment, that is, the expenses of his childhood for 14 years at half price of board, \$16.38, and for six years up to the age of twenty at whole board, \$1,404, and his improvement and amusement, \$468, making \$3,510, or fifteen times the board of an adult of this class, the *interest* on which at 7 per cent. per annum is \$245; the annual *premium* by table, at 20 years of age, upon an endowment life policy, payable at 45 years of age when he is unfit for work (or at death if it happen first), say for \$1,375, or sufficient for his annual expenses for the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years remaining of his average life after he has ceased work, \$50; annual *interest* on the husband's proportion,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the expense, \$7,000, of rearing two children till 20 years of age as above, \$1,000 = \$280; State, county and town tax, say \$40.

Here we have all the data for the calculation of the claim for wages of an uneducated laborer, which show that the amount is \$965 a year, at the present price of living; and that divided by 250, the number of days he can work annually, gives \$3.86 a day, and at eight hours a day 48 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour.

These details may and will vary with men, for the board and clothes and personal expenses of women of that class are less than those of the men—and with localities—and they may not be considered exactly correct, but let every citizen or philanthropist and employer anxious for truth and justice, take what he may deem the true statistics and apply these principles, and ascertain where they need modifying or correcting—or if right, join us in their use; we speak for justice and not for victory. The importance of the matter demands it, and the verisimilitude of the results is certainly very great.

The confessedly inadequate wages of labor in England, for instance, show plainly that the bare correlation of demand and supply does not prevent misery nor satisfy the claims of humanity to even a mere subsistence. Nor has it in the United States prevented the question of labor and wages from paralyzing enterprise, bringing ruin on employers and misery on the employed, and threatening or exciting deadly civil strife. The constantly appealed to principle of demand and supply fails here also, because of the essentially universal classes of speculators and legalized gamblers in stocks and gold, as well as the regulators and forestallers whose own "bearing and bulling" exertions affect prices abnormally, and irregularly, and put the whole community at the mercy of their selfishness and of uncertainty.

We are practically handling a practical subject that comes home to every man and woman, and one of the most important that can come under national review before the American people. We treat the subject in a direct and novel manner—make it a simple arithmetical calculation, and we trust it will elicit discussion and the suggestion of improvements in the data.

It is easily seen how various in actual life will be the results of the same wages among different individuals. We are only ascertaining that inevitable law of social averages which pervades here, as gravity pervades the physical world—you cannot leave it out in any working plans. There may be more days of work, it may be indoor or outdoor—or the ambitious may add the income of extra work—household

purchases may save the profits of board, and thrift and saving may diminish the absolute cost of food and clothes and spending money—accumulation will go on faster. And the wife's wages must be added, and what the children themselves may earn: so on the other hand sickness or curtailed work or bad habits may diminish the income. We do not treat here of the anomalies of wages, the drink money, the doles that make situations of service sometimes the subject of purchase or a bonus, and that, like savage dogs, make a friend's house and hospitality things to be avoided, not for their cost but the annoyance of properly adjusting them—the commissions which servants receive from shopmen for directing their employers' custom, and the calculation of board wages. Nor do we discuss commissions, some of which usage has specifically settled,—1 per cent. on real estate sales,  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on stock sales,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for selling and collecting, and 5 per cent. for guarantee, etc., etc.; nor the honorarium or fee of due bills, or of custom, or of official organizations—they are personal matters; or local customs, or subjects of special agreement.

The number of different occupations in the United States and in Europe is between thirteen and fourteen hundred, and of these between five and six hundred may be followed by females.

These occupations can be divided into classes according to various principles, such as the materials with which they are occupied, the responsibility attached to them respectively, the amount of preparation and the time and cost necessary to enable a workman to exercise them, which must always form one of the items in the calculation of wages, and the style of living and dressing demanded by society of persons following any particular occupation. The latter, too, and particularly the last, as they affect the cost of living, are particularly fitted to show us how wages should vary with certain elements.

The most hurried observation shows that we have enunciated the true elements of the amount of claims for wages. It may often appear otherwise. There is a difference in the worth of labor depending on the ability or activity or per-

sonal qualities of the employed; the man of acknowledged skill that has cost him years of toil and thousands of dollars to acquire, has been surpassed in his year's income; but these cases are exceptional ones of talent or circumstances, or collateral value, and like diamonds, rarely wanted and bought, though notable when we do see them.

It is to be wished that in the item of statistics the price of board for any class could always be distinctly ascertained in the United States decennial and the States' quinquennial census and returns and tables—and be officially revised and arranged every five years; for by the examination of history we find it decided, constant and regular in the changes it undergoes, unless interrupted by such civil and political revolutions as we have just been in.

The justice and adaptability of the above principles are apparent by observing all around us how flexibly they sway from side to side, and expand or contract so as to include all the phases of actual life. See how they offer opportunity both of poverty and of accumulation. In a wide, new and active country like ours, and in every country in course of development, there is always work enough, but carelessness, laziness, drunkenness, may wilfully curtail the number of hours of employment, and the earnings, or waste the pay that is received, and so may sickness curtail or expend it. Thrift will always live comfortably and make due accumulation under these principles of wages, from working over hours as strength allows, or from eschewing a family, or diminishing individual expenses, for they do not reduce wages to the minimum of a bare bestial subsistence and demand from labor its utmost time, strength and producing power, but only an average.

It is strange that at this day it is necessary to state that the products of labor are distinct from the wages of labor, yet it is the disregard of this plain distinction that arrays the employed against the employer, the workman against the capitalist, the poor against the rich. The accumulation of the products which labor collects or makes from nature is the grand motive power of wealth-getting. There always is a surplus of products of labor be-

yond subsistence, and always plenty of workers who, for one reason or another, have that surplus for sale.

When the laborer has sold his labor, and received his fair price, as we have above set it forth,—that is, got his wages,—he has no room for feeling against or in favor of his employer, any more than a shopkeeper has for or against the man who buys and pays the price for his goods.

The savings of a man's labor which buy the products of another, whether a few dollars worth, or, when aided by accumulation, a hundred thousand dollars worth from a gang of thousands employed, gives the purchaser a property and right in those products, which is not to be challenged. Whether bought with actual barter or cash, or anticipated by credit, they constitute capital; and this accumulation by one, of the purchased surplus labor and wages of others, constitutes riches. Very few could get rich by simply laying aside a part of their own wages.

We broach no new theory or experiments in the labor question; we simply make it plain, and clear it from the ignorance and the prejudices that make it the instrument of envy in cheating and annoying the rich, or those supposed to be so, or of rascality in grinding the poor, or of that fatal curse of republics, the selfish, impudent, deceiving demagogism that for its own ends excites hard thoughts and worse actions between different classes of the citizens of a common society and of a common nationality. The statesman's or socialist's question is not so much upon what the claim of labor for wages is founded, as how to get at the fair amount of those claims in any given case. If this matter were well understood, the "strikes" would look and be avoided as the crimes they are, of the same sort as thieving, as highway robbery, as murder. They destroy and diminish the property of others in both parties, they reduce them to poverty, they take life by taking the means by which they live, as well as by violence. They are to be treated as capital crimes if they cannot be controlled under any other character.

Is it expected that the laborer and workman will take these formulas out of his pocket, with his pencil, to apply



them and calculate whenever a hiring takes place? Hardly that, for he will always have them when once settled like other pervading convictions;—the commonest customs and modes of acting of individual or social economy are the results in practice of rational conviction, sometimes recognized, oftener but a routine.

Employment is the laborer's necessity; with the employer the questions are often various: shall I do it with more or less expense? shall I be satisfied with less profit? shall I do it now or at another time? or shall I do it at all?

Our object is not to ensure wages, nor to find or suggest employment. Through reading and thinking people the truth will sooner or later be transmitted through the whole social mass, and no portions of the people will make it a matter of general or of antagonistic unions and leagues.

We find, in our calculations, that some classes of labor do not receive wages enough. We find that in consequence of this inadequency, poverty, and even crime exist with all their attendant insecurity, wickedness, misery, and other social evils, and all the burdensome private, corporation, and public expenses and taxation, for repressing and meliorating and supporting it. Just and fair wages of labor will not, of course, ward off the helpless non-productive consumption of laziness, nor of congenital or induced imbecility of body or mind, nor accidents, nor sickness, but they will ameliorate, limit, and diminish them; and they will separate unavoidable calamities from the operation of public and private kindness and philanthropy, from the coercive measures and guards of civil government against wrong-doing and crime. For the importance of this, we have discussed the labor question from this point of view. There are 317,000 persons known to be assisted annually in the city of New York—the population itself of a mighty city.

We give briefly two further tests in the formulas of calculation of the proper wages of two other classes of workmen—the clerk and the bricklayer. And first the clerk. His average board in New York city is \$8 a week, or \$416 a year; his average of sickness is only about 8 weeks in his life; his average of life, from the age of 20, when

he commences work, is about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  years, equal to  $41\frac{1}{2}$  years for the whole life, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years less than the general average life of all occupations, which by Table is  $46\frac{1}{2}$  years; and he can work say to the age of 45. He then requires an endowment life policy to the amount of two years' support of his family, say  $\frac{1}{4}$  times his annual board, or \$2,160, payable at his age of 45, or at his death before: the annual premium on that sum, commencing at the age of 20, is \$78.71. His clothes a year,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of his board, \$139. His money for amusement and improvement,  $\frac{1}{2}$  board, \$139. The interest, at 7 per cent., on the cost of his childhood, 14 years, and youth, 6 years, up to 20 years of age, or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  times the board of his class (\$3,342), is \$234 a year. The husband's proportion ( $\frac{1}{4}$  of support of 2 children to 20 years of age) is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of double his own bringing up, or  $9\frac{1}{2}$  times the annual board of an adult of his class (\$3,342), and the annual interest on this is \$267.33. His State, county, and town taxes are, say \$40 a year; making his total annual demands \$1,313. As he can work the whole time—300 days, or 2,400 hours in a year—his wages should be \$4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$  a day, 54 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour.

He has no cost for preparation for his business to claim wages for, because the public schools afford that in the United States; nor for tools, or shop, or office, or convenience, as he provides none. This result bears a striking fairness upon its face.

Take still more briefly the bricklayer. Board, \$5.50 a week, \$286 a year. Life from 20,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  years, or  $42\frac{1}{2}$  in the whole, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  less than general average. Of this he can work 25 years, but only 200 days in a year. He can work to 45 years of age, and therefore requires an endowment insurance of two years' support of his family;  $\frac{1}{4}$  his annual board, or \$1,544; annual premium, commencing at 20, is \$56.33. Clothing, \$95; spending money, \$95. Interest, at 7 per cent., on his "bringing-up" till 20 (\$3,646), is \$255. The husband's proportion,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of support of 2 children to 20 years of age, \$2,621. Interest on that is \$183 a year. State, county, and town tax, \$40. And here begin, in a small way, the claims of educated labor; he brings in a new item of

claim in the annual interest on his investment in preparation, in the shape of a diminution and loss of wages for two years of apprenticeship, say \$200 a year, or \$400 in all, the interest on which we may call \$28 a year—he being rated then as a mere laborer, but supported by his parents, and that support reckoned in casting their wages. The above makes his total annual claim for wages \$1,038, which, divided by 200, the only amount of days in a year that a bricklayer can work, gives \$5 a day, or 62½ cents an hour.

And now we will close, though we might go on, by taking other occupations, say that of the sewing girls. There we should find that, in the practice of the admirable union houses that are in operation for them in New York, the present actual expense of their board has been from \$2.75 to \$3.25. This, of course, makes no allowance for the fair wages of private housekeepers who may take them to board. As a general thing, whatever is taken from the usual boarding-house price of board of a class, is subtracted from its sufficiency, wholesomeness, and cleanliness, and therefore cannot determine proper, fair, and just wages.

We might take carpenters, a class which the customs of society require to have more expensive boarding arrangements and larger personal expenses, and who must claim annual interest on their investment of capital in extended and more expensive apprenticeship and more highly-educated labor, and for the additional item of interest on capital invested in tools, and workplaces, and conveniences, and motive power, and the labor of others in transportation, &c., and the longer time he lives, and the fuller number of years, and of days in a year, that he can work.

And finally, we might sketch the wages of a professional man; a lawyer, for instance. The higher board he must pay, the larger social expenses his position imposes upon him, the great investment of capital and time in his academic, collegiate, and professional studies, and their bonus; the expense of his furnished offices and attendance, his costly library, his employment of other labor—clerk, copyist, and junior partner—his stationery and travel, all items of claim for his wages. And further than that, the impossibility of limiting

his thought, study, and toil to the set eight daily hours of labor.

But we trust we have sufficiently and plainly enough set out and provided a practical measure of the claims of wages of labor, in the different classes of human occupation.

ART. VII.—1. *A Popular Treatise on Comets.* By JAMES C. WATSON, A.M. Philadelphia, 1861.

2. *A Treatise on Comets.* By J. R. HIND. London.

3. *Exposition du Système du Monde.* Mécanique céleste. LAPLACE.

4. *Histoire de l'Astronomie au dix-huitième siècle.* MATHIEU.

5. *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne et moderne.* BAILLY.

THERE is no science, perhaps, which is at present making more rapid progress than that of astronomy. This advancement is not marked so much by grand and startling discoveries as by the correction and the perfecting of old and established theories. This labor is not to be performed by minds of moderate power, but the master minds of the age devote their time to it. Old theories and calculations are reëxamined with a minuteness which nothing but a deep interest in the subject could inspire. It is not alone in physical astronomy that progress is made; the spectroscope is revolutionizing many of our ideas in relation to the physical constitution of the celestial bodies. Well-equipped astronomical observatories are now to be found in nearly every part of the world where civilization has gained a foothold; not only in Europe and North America, but also in South America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Many individuals of wealth in this country and in Europe have established private observatories, which are either under the direction of their owners or of persons competent to take charge of them. With this multiplicity of observers scarcely a new celestial phenomenon can pass unnoticed. Formerly the principal authorities in astronomy were the Herschels, but now we have them by the score.

Cometary astronomy receives especial attention. Scarcely

a comet makes its appearance in the heavens without being detected by one or more of the numerous observers, long before it reaches its nearest point to the earth, and when it is visible with the comet-seeker only as a faint nebulous object. The labour expended in discovering a comet in a regular search for one, instituted for the purpose, is really immense. It requires several year's preparation before a person is fitted for such an undertaking. "The astronomer with his telescope, begins at the going down of the sun, and examines in zones, with the utmost care and vigilance, the starry vault, and continues till the 'circling hours' bring the sun to the eastern horizon, when star and comet fade from his view. It requires several nights to complete a thorough survey of the heavens, and often these nights do not follow each other in succession, but are interrupted by the full moon, by clouds, auroras, and by various other meteorological phenomena. He is frequently vexed by passing clouds; fleeting through the midnight sky, and by strong and chilly breezes of the night. His labours are continued throughout the year, and his unwearied exertions do not slacken during the long wintry nights, when the frozen particles of snow and ice, driven before the northern blast, cause the stars to sparkle with unusual lustre, and his breath to congeal on the eyepiece of the telescope. It frequently happens that his labours are not crowned by a discovery, until after several years' search."

Anciently, comets were generally regarded as meteors engendered in our atmosphere. Some supposed them to be prodigies indicating wars, pestilences, famines, inundations, and earthquakes. Others, however, considered them planetary bodies, or wandering stars. According to Aristotle, Anaxagoras and Democritus supposed comets to be produced by the conjunction of many planets or stars. Zeno, the Stoic, entertained a similar view of comets. Being contested in this view by contemporary philosophers, who stated that the number of planets was not sufficiently great to form all the comets which had appeared, it was replied that the number of planets was unknown; that by far the greater number moved in orbits so elongated, that they only return-

ed after intervals of great length; and it was only in that part of their orbits which lies nearest the earth and sun, that they could become visible. The Pythagoreans, who approximated nearest to the true system of the world of any of the ancients, regarded comets as planets, which return only after long intervals, and approach as near the sun as Mercury. The views entertained in that age were much more nearly correct than those held a thousand years later. Olympiodorus, a peripatetic philosopher in the age of Theodosius the younger, maintained that a comet is composed of *dry vapors* in our atmosphere, and set on fire by the heat of the solar rays, and afterwards extinguished by the moist vapors of the earth. Aristotle supposed comets to be enkindled in our atmosphere, to burn for a greater or less period of time depending on the length of their period of visibility, when they became extinguished. No philosopher of antiquity exercised a greater influence on the philosophy of the Middle Ages than Aristotle, and it is to be regretted that the views which he entertained of the nature, magnitude, and structure of the universe, were not of a higher order, and more in accordance with nature herself. He describes the grand views of the Pythagoreans in the same book in which he sets forth his own.

We must not omit to give the views of Seneca on comets. He seemed endowed with an intuition which in very many cases led him to correct conclusions respecting the phenomena of nature; and which made him one of the greatest philosophers and moralists of antiquity. "For I do not think, he says, that comets are a casual outburst of fire, but belong to the eternal works of nature. For why should it surprise us that comets, so rare a phenomenon, should not yet be subject to the regulation of any known laws? and that their origin and ends should be hid from us, who see them only at immense intervals? It is not yet five hundred years since Goerer gave names and number to the stars. And to this day there are many nations who know nothing of the heavenly bodies but as they appear to the eye, who are still ignorant of the causes of the waves and the eclipses of the moon; even we ourselves have only lately attained an ac-

curate knowledge of these phenomena. The time will arrive when the diligence of a remoter age will throw light on subjects which are now involved in obscurity. The time will arrive when our posterity will wonder at our ignorance, of things so plain to them. Eleusis reserves her favors for those who repeat their visits. Nature does not permit us to explore her sanctuary all at once. We believe we are initiated; whereas we halt at the very threshold. Those mysteries are not revealed indiscriminately to all; they are laid up and enshrined within the penetralia. Some are revealed to the men of our age, some to those who shall come after us. Great results proceed slowly." \*

It is a thing worthy of note that the superstitious notions of the Middle Ages respecting the influence of comets on the earth, and the danger of the destruction of the human race from these celestial visitors, are not to be traced in the writings of the ancients.

The earliest recorded appearances of comets which seem to be authentic, are to be traced in the Chinese annals, as early as 613, B. C.† The Chinese have professedly recorded the appearance of comets since 2550, B. C.; but the accounts given are quite vague and unsatisfactory. Comets were also observed by the Chaldeans at a very early date, but the record of their observations has not come down to us. The Chaldean astronomers, according to Diodorus, considered the comets as bodies subject to the same dynamic laws as the planets, but receding to a greater distance from the earth; but the Chinese were satisfied with making extended observations on them, without any attempt at an explanation of the laws which regulate their motions or govern their physical phenomena.

It is to Tycho Brahe that we owe the discovery that comets are situated beyond the limits of our atmosphere, and even beyond the orbit of the moon. In the year 1577 a very fine comet made its appearance in the heavens, which was subjected in its motions to the closest scrutiny by Tycho, with his large and accurate instruments, and failing to dis-

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\* Nat. Quest. lib. vii. cap. xxii. xxv. & xxxi.

† Cosmos iv., p. 539.

cover any parallax, he concluded that it was situated beyond the orbit of the moon, and in the region of the planetary spaces. Tycho observed it from Uraniburg, and Hagecius from Prague, in Bohemia. These two places differ about six degrees in latitude, but are nearly on the same meridian. Both observers compared the place of the comet with the same star; but notwithstanding these advantages, both observations gave the same result, and it was hence concluded that their instruments could determine no parallax of the comet.

We may see from what has now been stated, that the greatest obstacle to the discovery of truth, is a proper system to regulate our labors. Kepler's result was similar to that of Tycho Brahe. He had an opportunity to observe the return of Halley's comet in 1607, and also the great comet of 1618, and from these observations he concluded that comets move freely through the planetary spaces. Newton, in the third book of the *Principia*, shows that comets are situated beyond the orbit of the moon, but below the sphere of the fixed stars, and consequently in the solar, or planetary region.

Comets were at first supposed to move in straight lines. Kepler endeavored to represent their observed places by supposing them to move in right lines with variable velocities, and several other astronomers subsequently adopted the same hypothesis; and calculations were made in accordance with it respecting the motions of some comets which had previously appeared. This hypothesis, though unfounded in nature, very nearly represents the observed places of many comets, except in those parts of their orbits near the perihelion. M. Cassini was in this way able to predict, for some weeks ahead, the places of a comet with considerable precision. Hevelius, a few years later, seems to have been the first to conclude that comets move in curvilinear orbits, and that the orbit might be a parabola. These conclusions he drew from his observations on the comet of 1665. He did not conjecture, however, what position the sun occupied with respect to the curve. This question was not definitely settled till the appearance of the great



comet of 1680, when Newton and Dörfel proved the orbit to be a parabola and the sun to occupy the focus of the curve.

The observations made by the elder Cassini on a comet which appeared in 1672, and which described a course in the heavens similar to that of the great comet of 1577, observed by Tycho Brahe, first led to the idea that this class of celestial bodies may describe reëntering curves in their motion about the sun, and form a part of the solar system. It was Newton, however, who demonstrated that a comet can move in any one of the conic sections, the curves which it describes depending on its velocity at a given place in its orbit."\*

Although angular instruments of some kind were generally used by the better class of astronomers during the Middle Ages, yet observations on comets were sometimes made by estimating their distance from one or more fixed stars by means of the eye alone. When angular instruments were used the observations were frequently very inaccurate, so that it is with considerable difficulty that astronomers of the present day satisfy themselves fully with respect to the identity of recent comets and some that appeared several centuries back.

Upon the revival of scientific studies in Europe towards the close of the fifteenth century, for some time the cultivation of astronomy was almost exclusively confined to Germany. Waltherus, a native of Nuremburg, was the first to introduce the practice of determining the place of a celestial body, by observing its altitude and its distance from two stars whose positions had previously been ascertained. Tycho Brahe, it is well known, had numerous large and accurate instruments with which he made a great many good observations. Hevelius, a wealthy citizen of Dantzic, Prussia, employed instruments similar to Tycho's, but they were more accurately divided. The difficulty of measuring time in those days, induced astronomers, in most cases, to resort to that class of observations which does not employ time as one of the elements. Down to this date (1680) the

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\* Principia, bk. I., section iii.

best observations reduced the probable error of a position so determined to one minute of arc.

After Newton demonstrated the fact that comets may move in conic sections, and that they actually did move in parabolas or very elongated ellipses, he saw the necessity of having some method by which the elements of the orbits can be determined. In order to effect this, he proposed two methods differing in their fundamental positions.\* In the first he supposes that we may regard a small portion of the orbit as a straight line, described with a uniform motion, and that its segments intercepted by right lines drawn from the comet to the earth, at the times of the respective observations, are proportional to the intervals of time between these observations. The objection to this method is, that it gives results which are altogether indefinite. The second method is unobjectionable in theory, but the computations are so very complicated and laborious that the method has not been generally adopted.

No improvement on Newton's method was made for many years, and mathematicians failing in every attempt to discover a method by which an orbit might be accurately calculated without resorting to so extended numerical computations, were obliged to resort to a system of trial and error, and in this way to arrive at the elements of an orbit that satisfied the observations with sufficient accuracy. "Boscovich, however, undertook to solve this difficult problem directly; and the solution which he gave is remarkable as being the first in which the velocity of the comet in its orbit was regarded as one of the essential conditions. His method, as might be expected, is excessively complicated; and from the multiplicity of both algebraical formulæ and graphical operations which it presents, it has never been employed in the actual computation of an orbit."

Lambert next attempted to solve this problem, and among the formulæ which he found pertaining to the motion of a body in a parabola, is one that is very elegant, and which gives the time of describing an arc in

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\* See *Principia*, bk. iii., prop. xli.

terms of the chord and the extreme radii-vectores. \* Astronomers still employ this theorem in every method in use for the solution of this problem, since it affords the means of correcting the hypothetical values which it is necessary to substitute in the equations of the problem. Lambert further showed how to determine at once whether the distance of the comet from the sun was greater or less than that of the earth, which abridges very much the preliminary calculations. Lambert's method was subsequently modified by the researches of Lagrange and Laplace, and the results to which they finally arrived are now in the main adopted as the basis of all analytical solutions. Dr. Olbers proposed another method for finding the elements of a parabolic orbit also (like the above) from three geocentric observations. He supposed the chord joining the comet's position at the extreme observations to be divided into segments by the radius-vector at the second observation, proportional to the intervals of time between the observations. This method, though simple, gives accurate results only when the intervals of time between the dates of the observations are very nearly equal. When the intervals differ considerably from each other, and when the comet is further from the sun than the earth, the results are very unsatisfactory; and for this reason Legendre devised a method suitable to all cases. Instead of assuming what Olbers does, he finds an expression for each segment of the chord in terms of the time. This method can be used when Olbers' fails, but the numerical calculations are far more complicated and tedious.

Having found all the elements of the orbit of a comet, whether they be elliptical, parabolic, or hyperbolic, the position of the comet in its orbit at any time is easily found, which gives its heliocentric place. An easy calculation transforms the position from heliocentric to geocentric longitude and latitude, or to geocentric right ascension and declination. In practice, however, it is found more convenient to investigate the position of the comet with respect to three rectangular coördinate plans, the equator

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\* See Tait and Steele "On the Dynamics of a Particle," p. 128.

being one, which will give us the rectangular coördinates of the comet referred to the centre of the sun, and subtracting from these the rectangular coördinates of the earth referred to the same point, we have remaining the geocentric rectangular coördinates, which may at once be transformed into polar coördinates giving us the distance of the comet from the earth, and its geocentric right ascension and declination. The several positions thus computed, being arranged in a table, form an ephemeris of the comet.

Having completed an ephemeris of a comet we can compare it with the observed places of it, and if these agree within the probable limits of error, it is concluded at once that the orbit is sufficiently well represented by a parabola. Should the computed and observed places differ considerably, elliptic elements are tried; and when these fail, hyperbolic elements are substituted. The motions of the great mass of comets are sufficiently well represented by a parabolic orbit, but a few have been found to move in ellipses and a still less number in hyperbolas.

The whole number of recorded appearances of comets, amounts to 787. The earliest is one given as 1770 B. C., but there is some doubt about it. The account is as follows: "St. Augustine has preserved the following extract from Varro:—'There was seen a wonderful prodigy in the heavens worthy to be compared with the brilliant star Venus, which Plantus and Homer, each in his own language, call the "Evening Star." Castor avers that this fine star changed color, size, figure, and place; that it was never seen before, and has never been seen since. Adrastus of Cyzicus and Dion the Neapolitan refer the appearance of this great prodigy to the reign of Ogyges.' \* This description, such as it is, may be presumed to be that of a comet, but no further particulars have been preserved."†

We must remember that only such comets as were visible to the naked eye, could be seen before the invention of telescopes. Watson ‡ gives the following numbers as a

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\* De Civitate, XXI. 8.

† Chambers' "Descriptive Astronomy," p. 354. ‡ Comets, p. 147.

record of the comets which have appeared in each successive century of our era : First century, 22 ; second, 23 ; third, 44 ; fourth, 27 ; fifth, 16 ; sixth, 25 ; seventh, 22 ; eighth, 16 ; ninth, 42 ; tenth, 26 ; eleventh, 36 ; twelfth, 26 ; thirteenth, 26 ; fourteenth, 29 ; fifteenth, 27 ; sixteenth, 31 ; seventeenth, 25 ; eighteenth, 64 ; nineteenth (till 1868,) 135. The orbits of about 250 different comets have been calculated and recorded in tables.

The number of comets which have passed the perihelia of their orbits within the last twenty centuries, is vastly greater than the number of recorded appearances which we have set down. By far the greater number of comets which are now discovered, are telescopic. Very many must pass their perihelia in the same region in which the sun is at the time situated, and remain during their whole visit obscured by the solar rays. Arago estimates, from the number of recorded appearances, that seven millions of comets belong to our system. Some recent investigations respecting the origin of comets renders it very doubtful about this large number.

If the comets were subject to no other influence than the attraction of the sun, they would describe accurately one or another of the conic sections ; but gravitation is universal, at least so far as we can at present determine, and the attraction of the planets disturbs the motion of the comets, influencing, in some cases to a considerable extent, the time of their perihelion passage. To assign accurately the parabolic elements of a comet, it, therefore, frequently becomes necessary to calculate the disturbing influence of the planets on its motion. But it is in those cases where elliptic elements have been assigned to a comet, whose next return to its perihelion is required to be accurately computed beforehand, that the greatest labor becomes necessary to calculate the whole influence of the planetary attraction.

In the case of planetary perturbations the general theory of disturbed motion can be applied, and the position of a planet can be calculated for any date, either future or past. This is owing to the small eccentricity of the planetary orbits. The disturbance is found in the form of a series, each term

of which is multiplied by some power of the eccentricity and the tangent of the angle of inclination, and so arranged as to have the coefficient of each term less than the preceding. But this cannot be done in the case of the comets, for their orbits are so eccentric, and their inclination frequently so great, that the series would require an unmanageable number of terms to give the disturbance with sufficient accuracy. Some other method, therefore, became necessary in order to compute the disturbance which the planets produce in the motion of a comet.

Newton did little else than indicate what was to be done in the theory of perturbations. Halley foresaw that the larger planets of our system would influence the return of the comet which bears his name, to the perihelion, but analysis had not advanced sufficiently to enable him to enter into the investigation of a question so difficult. He could do no more than estimate the amount of disturbance which Jupiter and Saturn would produce on its return to the vicinity of the earth and sun. He predicted that its next return to its perihelion after 1682, would be near the close of 1758, or the beginning of 1759. "It was certainly a bold analogy, in those days," says Professor Watson, "to attribute a difference of more than a year, in the motion of a comet, to the same cause that occasioned a change of only a few days in the motion of the planets; and this confident prediction by Halley may therefore be regarded as one of the most remarkable events in the history of astronomy."

Before the return of the comet in 1759, however, mathematical analysis had advanced to a higher degree of perfection, and "men of sublime genius had arisen, who were able to follow out Newton's theory of gravitation to its legitimate results and consequences. Clairaut, one of the greatest mathematicians at that time in France, undertook to compute the amount of disturbance which the comet would experience in its revolution around the sun. In conversation with Euler and D'Alembert, he had already solved the general problem of perturbations and applied their solution to the moon's motion. Clairaut applied his solution of the problem of three bodies to the case of Halley's Comet, and

computed the derangement caused by Jupiter and Saturn throughout three successive revolutions. In the immense calculations to which these researches gave rise he was assisted by Lalande, who was then entering on his long career, and by Madame Lepante, an accomplished lady of Paris. Clairaut having solved the analytical part of the problem, the numerical computations were undertaken by Lalande. Assisted by Madame Lepante, they worked for six months from morning till late in the evening without intermission. The assistance rendered by the lady computer is thus spoken of by Lalande: "The assistance rendered by Madame Lepante was such, that without her we never could have dared to undertake this enormous labor, in which it was necessary to calculate the distance of each of the two planets, Jupiter and Saturn, from the comet, and their attraction upon that body, separately, for every successive degree, and for 150 years." His final conclusion was that the comet would arrive at its perihelion on the 4th of April, 1759. It actually arrived at that point on the 12th of March of that year.

An amount of labor so enormous as we have seen was required to apply Clairaut's formula to the motion of a comet, deterred mathematicians from undertaking such investigations, and it became necessary to discover some other method more direct and less laborious in its application. But little progress was made, however, in these researches till the year 1778, when the Academy of Sciences of Paris offered a mathematical prize for an essay on this subject. Lagrange composed an admirable memoir on the subject, which formed at once a complete solution of the question and a model for all future investigations. The method which he followed is that of the variation of arbitrary constants. But the usual method of integration is not followed. Having obtained the differential variations of the elements, Lagrange proceeded to integrate them by what has been termed the method of mechanical quadratures.\* This consists in dividing the orbit into a number of distinct arcs, and then summing up the effects of perturbation for each arc. The application of this

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\* See De Morgan's Calculus, p. 313.

process to the whole orbit would demand an enormous amount of calculation, but Lagrange showed that such a course is not necessary. In the case of a comet of long period the method of quadratures would only be necessary in that part of its orbit about the perihelion; but while traversing the superior part of its orbit, on account of its great distances from the sun, compared with that of the disturbing planet (some power of the ratio, of these quantities being a factor of each term of the series into which the disturbing function is developed), the usual method of integration can be followed.\*

It has been proposed, in the case which we have been considering, to find the motion of the comet in the superior part of its orbit, by supposing it attracted toward the centre of gravity of the solar system, where we might imagine the sun and all the planets concentrated. In Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, Simon Newcomb, in an article entitled "On a Method in Dynamics," has partly developed a method better adapted to the case which we have been considering than the one mentioned above. It consists in finding the position of a centre of attraction equal in its effects to those of all the members of the system. Though worthy of the attention of mathematicians, we presume that it has never been applied to the case of a comet.

Lagrange's memoir being of a general nature, it remained to make an application of it to the perturbations of a comet. In 1812 the Academy of Turin proposed as the subject of a prize, the perturbations of Halley's Comet. The prize was awarded to M. Damoiseau. He determined the value of the major axis at the time of its perihelion passage in 1759, by computing the effects of the planets throughout the preceding revolution. He then set out with the complete elements of 1759 and calculated the disturbing effects of the planets on the elements throughout the whole of its orbit during the next period of revolution. His method of treating the question was the same as that of Lagrange, only he employed the method of quadratures throughout the whole extent of the

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\* Grant's Hist. Phys. Ast., p. 105.



orbit; a process which he thought more safe than Lagrange's, though more tedious. He finally fixed the time of perihelion passage on the 4th of November, 1835.

In 1826 the Academy of Sciences of Paris proposed the perturbations of Halley's Comet as the subject of a prize. After offering the prize twice without finding any competitors, it was finally awarded to M. Pontécoulant in 1829. His method is the same as that of M. Damoiseau's. His final result gave the 14th of November, 1835, as the time of perihelion passage. The comet passed its perihelion at noon on the 17th of November. Pontécoulant subsequently revised his calculations and employed more correct values of the masses of the disturbing planets, and he found that the perihelion passage would take place at noon on the 16th of November, within twenty-four hours of the observed time.\* Sehmann and Rosenberger, two eminent German mathematicians, also investigated the same subject, but their results were less accurate than those of Pontécoulant.

Encke's comet, though telescopic, is one of the most interesting of this class of bodies, from the fact that its period of revolution is continually shortening by about two hours and thirty-eight minutes at each successive revolution. This being the result which would be produced by a resisting medium, the existence of a rare fluid has been assumed by Encke to exist in the planetary spaces, but whose effects are discoverable only within the orbit of Venus. The undulatory theory of light requires the existence of such a fluid throughout all unoccupied space; and the fact that the hypothesis of the existence of an elastic fluid, existing as we have supposed, will explain nearly every observed phenomenon in both cases, seems to render it highly probable that such a fluid exists. The known existence of meteoric rings in the solar system, seems to unsettle the question, and render it possible, to say the least, that their influence may be the cause of the acceleration of the motion of the comet and consequent shortening of its period. This comet completes a

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\* Grant's Hist. Phys. Ast., p. 138.

revolution in about 1,210 days. Its period is shortened at each revolution by about its eleven-thousandth part, which, if continued at the same rate, will cause it to fall into the sun after about twenty or thirty thousand years.

The mass of Mercury is very difficult to determine. Lagrange determined it by assuming the density of the planets to vary inversely as their mean distances from the sun. Encke's Comet, when near its perihelion, passes at times very near to Mercury, and the disturbance which that planet produces in the motion of the comet enables the astronomer to compute the value of its mass. In 1838 the comet was in the required position, and M. Encke found the mass of the planet considerably less than the value assigned by Lagrange.

The major axis of the orbit of Encke's Comet lies almost exactly in the plane of Jupiter's motion; and since the aphelion of the comet's orbit is near the orbit of Jupiter, it is evident that the planet may sometimes exert a powerful influence on the motion of the comet. This happened at the comet's revolution of 1819-'22. M. Encke computed the perturbations of the comet, allowing for the effects of a resisting medium, and assuming an indeterminate correction to Jupiter's mass. Equating the effects thus produced to the observed errors of the comet's motion, he obtained a number of equations of conditions, the subsequent combination and solution of which gave a value of Jupiter's mass agreeing very closely with that found from the perturbations of the smaller planets.\*

One of the most curious and interesting facts recorded in the history of comets, is their occasional separation into two or more distinct bodies. The cause which produces this is at present unknown. Grant refers it to the influence of the sun;† but since our observations can only extend but little beyond the orbit of Mars, it seems pretty difficult to decide whether the breaking-up always takes place in that part of the solar system where the sun's influence is powerful, or in

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\* Grant's Hist. Phys. Ast., p. 135.

† Ibid., p. 302.

more remote regions of space. It is not impossible that a comet may encounter some of the meteoric rings which seem to exist in the planetary system. Seneca relates that Ephorus, an ancient Greek author, makes mention of a comet which separated into two distinct bodies before it disappeared.\* Seneca doubted the fact, but Kepler thought it quite probable;† and he further thought it quite probable that two comets which appeared in the same region of the heavens in the year 1618, were fragments of a separated comet. We are informed by Hevelius‡ that Oysatus perceived in the head of the great comet of 1618 unequivocal symptoms of a breaking-up into two distinct bodies. When the comet first appeared, in the month of November, it resembled a round mass of concentrated light. On the 8th of December it seemed to be divided into several parts. On the 20th of the same month its appearance was that of a multitude of small stars. Hevelius himself informs us that he witnessed a similar appearance in the head of the comet of 1661.§

The most remarkable example, however, which we have of the separation of a comet into two distinct bodies, is that of Biela's Comet in the year 1846, or perhaps the last of 1845. This comet is a faint nebulous object, invisible to the naked eye, with a diameter of about 50,000 miles. At all previous returns to that of 1846 it appeared as a single body; and when first observed in 1845 it presented no unusual appearance. About the middle of December, however, it showed signs of violent disturbance, with indications of a separation. On the 19th it was pear-shaped. On the 29th it was seen attended by a faint nebulous spot. On the 13th of January, 1846, it was observed at the Naval Observatory, Washington, by Lieut. Maury to consist of two distinct bodies, each moving in an independent orbit. On the 15th the division was generally noticed in Europe, and carefully observed. Each body exhibited the usual charac-

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\* Nat. Quæst., lib. vii. cap. xxi.

† De Cometis, p. 50.

‡ Cometographia, p. 341.

§ Ibid., p. 417.

teristics of a comet, a condensation about the middle parts, and an elongation in a direction opposite the sun. The central condensation of each seems to prove that the comet is of the nature of a fluid, or of fine, disconnected particles, which are drawn together by their mutual gravitation. Professor Hubbard, of the Naval Observatory, Washington, from an elaborate investigation of the motion of the two comets,\* found that the maximum distance between them in 1846 was less than the distance of the moon from the earth; and that the observations are satisfied by supposing each part to describe an independent ellipse around the sun.

The next return of the comet to the perihelion would take place in 1852. As the time drew near and the attention of astronomers began to be directed towards the subject, much interest was manifested relative to the phenomena that might be presented. On the 28th of August of that year, Professor Secchi, at Rome, discovered one of the nuclei, but the other was not found till September 15th, when the "new one" was too faint for Secchi to determine its exact position. But what seems curious, it was found on comparison that the new one was really the one that was discovered in August, and the bright one was the *new one*.† On the 16th the southern nucleus (first discovered) was observed, the other not being visible, and on the 17th and 18th only the northern one could be seen; but on the 19th both were observed by Secchi, and the double observation was repeated at Rome and at Pulkowa on the 20th, 23d, and 25th, while on the 21st only the southern and on the 22d only the northern one was visible. "We have thus," says Professor Hubbard, "a most interesting repetition of the alterations exhibited in 1845-46, which now appear more remarkable only in consequence of the extreme faintness of the comets, which was such that the slightest change of light sufficed to carry them either within or beyond the reach of vision." The apparent distance of the two nuclei when discovered was little more than half a degree, but the real distance was about seven times as

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\* Gould's Ast. Jour., vols. iii., iv., vi.

† Ast. Jour., vol. vi., p. 160.

great as in 1846. It seems to be nearly impossible to tell which of the two nuclei corresponds to the original one of 1846. The hypothesis generally adopted, is that the one discovered in August is the original nucleus.

The return of the comets to the perihelion in 1849 was not observed, owing to the fact that they were in the immediate vicinity of the sun. It was expected that their return in 1866 would be generally observed; but owing to some circumstances, but few observations, of a doubtful character, were made upon one of the nuclei. \*

Owing to the small mass of comets, and their occasional near approach to the larger planets, they are sometimes thrown entirely out of their original orbits and caused to describe new ones differing very much from the former ones. Especially is this the case when they pass near to the planet Jupiter, which, as Sir John Herschel says, "seems, by some strange fatality, to be constantly in the way of comets, and to seem as a perpetual stumbling-block to them."

On the 14th of June, 1770, a comet was discovered by Messier, at Paris, and it was observed till the next October the 2d. It passed its perihelion on the 14th of August, and on the 1st of July it was distant from the earth only about six times the distance of the moon, or 1,400,000 miles. It was found that parabolic elements would not represent the motion of the comet. Six years after it had disappeared. Lexell found that it revolved in an elliptical orbit with a period of five and a half years. Its aphelion distance was about 250,000,000 miles, and its perihelion distance 65,000,000 miles. Since the comet was a brilliant object in 1770 it was a curious circumstance that it had not been seen before, and that it was not seen in 1776. Lexell found from the elements of its orbit that in 1776 it was fifty-seven times as near to Jupiter as to the sun, or the fifty-eighth part of Jupiter's mean distance, and at that time the disturbing influence of Jupiter was so great that it threw the comet into an entirely new orbit. It 1776 it could not be seen on account of the relative situations of the comet and the earth at the time,

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\* Monthly Notices of the Royal Ast. Soc., vol. xxvi. pp. 241 271.

the former being enveloped in the sun's rays. In 1779 it again passed so near Jupiter as to have its orbit entirely changed a second time, so as to render the comet afterwards invisible. Laplace afterwards undertook the analytical investigation of this interesting question, and his results confirm the deductions of Lexell.\* He found that the greater axis of the orbit before 1767 was, 2,526,000,000 miles, and its period forty-eight and a half years; and after 1779 the greater axis of the orbit was 1,400,000,000, and its period twenty years. The perihelion distance was double the mean distance of the planet Mars, so that the comet would always remain invisible. The question rested here for nearly half a century, when Leverrier undertook a thorough revision of Laplace's investigations. He found the observations of 1770 not sufficiently accurate to warrant the definite conclusions at which Laplace had arrived. He found that the action of Jupiter might have thrown the comet into a parabolic or hyperbolic orbit, in which it would depart from our system, probably never again to return; or its orbit might have been elliptic with a very long period (Laplace's conclusion); or, finally, its orbit might have been simply modified somewhat without destroying its character of short periodicity — a result which renders it somewhat probable that the comet may yet be recognized.

On the 22d of November, 1843, M. Faye, of the Royal Observatory of Paris, discovered a comet whose period was found to be about seven and a half years. Since its period and path are about the same as those of Lexell's comet, M. Valz advanced the hypothesis that the two are identical. M. Le Verrier undertook a thorough investigation of the subject, and his conclusion was that the two comets cannot possibly be the same body. It is possible that Faye's comet was introduced into, or rather fixed in, our system by the attraction of Jupiter. This is a question that cannot be definitely settled, but Le Verrier has shown that the comet must have been introduced into the system at least as early as 1747, so that it had made not less than thirteen revolutions previous to its discovery.

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\* *Mec. Celeste*, liv. ix. chap. ii.

Cometary observations cannot usually be as accurate as those of the planets, because there always is a difficulty in fixing upon the centre, or rather the centre of gravity of the nucleus; and when the comet is faint the difficulty is increased. The errors thus committed render the period of revolution, when calculated directly from the observed places, to some extent uncertain. When there is a long series of observations the probable error of the calculated period is very much diminished.

On the 29th of August, 1844, De Vico, the Director of the Observatory at Rome, discovered a comet whose period was found to be about five and a half years. MM. Langier and Manvais thought it identical with a comet observed by Tycho Brahe and Rothman in 1585. Their conclusions were drawn from a resemblance between the elements. Nothing but a thorough investigation of the question, in which the perturbations of the comet's motion were allowed for, could settle the question. Again we find De Verrier to come to the rescue. He traced the motion of De Vico's comet back to the year 1585, and he arrived at the conclusion that the comets are two totally distinct bodies. He also ascertained at the same time that the comet of 1844 is not identical with Lexell's. He thinks, however, that De Vico's comet is the same as the comet of 1678 observed by La Hire. We thus see how precarious it is to rely upon any conclusion drawn from appearances that have not been thoroughly investigated.

The periods of revolution of comets are as various as is their physical appearances. Encke's comet has the remarkably short period of three and a third years. Winnecke's, five years; De Vico's, five and a half; Brorsen's, five and two-thirds; D'Arrest's, six and a half; Biela's, six and two-thirds; Faye's, seven and a half; Tuttle's, thirteen and a half; Peter's, sixteen; Halley's seventy-five; great comet of 1848, probably one hundred and seventy-five; great comet of 1858, twenty-four hundred; great comet of 1811, thirty-three hundred; great comet of 1680 (according to Encke), eighty eight hundred years.

As soon as a sufficient number of observations have been made on the apparent place of a comet, parabolic elements

are computed for it, and in order to determine whether it has ever been observed before, a table of the elements of all the computed orbits is examined, and if a set is found to agree with that of the new comet within moderate limits, they are considered as applying to the same body. The comet, however, may have made several revolutions within the period of the two ascertained apparitions. When this is the case an eccentricity, less than the one applying to the whole period, is assumed, and if that does not correctly represent the observations, a new one is assumed, and so on till the correct period is ascertained. Instead of this method, the astronomer can compute the orbit directly from the observations, if he chooses.

The physical constitution of comets is not less extraordinary than their general appearance and motions. A comet may be divided into three parts and each treated separately: the tail, the envelope, and the nucleus. The tail is not an invariable accompaniment of other parts of a comet, since many telescopic comets have no vestige of a tail. A bright comet was seen in 1585 without any sign of a tail. The brightest and largest comets, when first discovered by means of the telescope, are usually without a tail.

Appian was the first European astronomer who discovered that the tails of comets point in a direction opposite to that of the sun. He was led to it by observations upon Halley's Comet in 1731, and upon four other comets which appeared between the years 1531 and 1539. Though Appian was the first *European* astronomer that recognized this phenomenon of comets, yet the fact was known in China at a much earlier date. According to the researches of M. Edward Biot, in the Chinese annals of the Dynasty of Thong, who reigned between the years 618 and 907 of the Christian era, there is an account of a comet which appeared on the 22d of March, 837. The account concludes with this remark: "In general, when a comet (literally a broom) appears in the morning, the tail extends towards the west; when it appears in the evening it extends towards the east. This is a constant rule." \*

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\* *Comptes Rendus des Sciences*, tom. xvi., p. 751.



Sir William Herschel was led to the conclusion, from observations on the great comet of 1811, that the tail of a comet is a hollow cone. This accounts for the double appearance which the tails of comets present. Near the axis of the tail we see through a less amount of the cometic matter than we do nearer the edges, and this gives rise to the appearance of a darker space along the axis of the tail.

Some comets, however, have been characterized by remarkable peculiarities. We are informed by Chésaux that the comet of 1744 had six tails spread out like a fan. According to Bessel, the comet of 1807 had two tails, one making an angle of  $8^\circ$  with the prolongation of the radius-vector, and the other, which was fainter, making an angle of  $29^\circ$  with it. A comet which appeared towards the close of 1823 had two tails, one opposite to the sun, the other pointing almost directly towards it. The great comet of 1843 was observed in Chili to have a lateral tail issuing from the original one  $10^\circ$  from the head, and extending to a much greater distance than the other.

Comets frequently exhibit a most imposing aspect in consequence of the great length of their tails. The ancients have recorded the appearance of numerous comets whose tails were from  $50^\circ$  to  $90^\circ$  in apparent length. Halley's comet in 1456 had a tail  $60^\circ$  long; the great comet of 1680 had a train  $90^\circ$  in length, as observed at Constantinople; the comet of 1769 had a tail  $97^\circ$  in length; the comet of 1618 exhibited one  $104^\circ$  long; the great comet of 1861 had a tail  $106^\circ$  in length; and the first comet of 1865 (seen in the southern hemisphere) for several days after the perihelion passage, had "a tail almost perfectly straight  $150^\circ$  long." \*

The apparent length which the tails of comets present is influenced very much by moonlight and the state of the atmosphere. The same comet not unfrequently exhibits a tail of very different lengths as viewed from different places. Thus, the tail of the great comet of 1769, as seen at London on the 9th of September, was  $43^\circ$  in length; on the same day at Paris it measured  $55^\circ$ ; and at the Isle of Bourbon

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\* R. J. Ellery, *Month. Notices*, vol. xxv. p. 220.

it was  $60^{\circ}$ . The tails of comets appear longer in tropical climates than in more temperate latitudes.

The apparent length of the tail of a comet does not usually give us much idea of its real length in miles. This depends upon its apparent length, its distance from us, and its direction with respect to our position in space. The tail of the great comet of 1680 was 96 million miles in length; that of 1769, 38 millions; and the tail of the great comet of 1811 was more than 120 millions of miles in length, and 15 million broad at its extremity.

The tails of comets are developed as they approach the sun, whilst the volume of the head diminishes. This seems to show very clearly that the matter of the envelop is driven off by solar influence, and goes to form the tail. We quote the conclusions at which Sir John Herschel arrived from his observations on Halley's comet at its last appearance in 1835-6. He says: 1st. "That the matter of the nucleus of a comet is powerfully excited and dilated into a vaporous state by the action of the sun's rays, escaping in streams and jets at those points of its surface which oppose the least resistance, and in all probability throwing that surface, or the nucleus itself, into irregular motions by its reaction in the act of so escaping and thus altering its direction. 2d. That this process chiefly takes place in that portion of the nucleus which is turned towards the sun—the vapor escaping chiefly in that direction. 3d. That when so emitted, it is prevented from proceeding in the direction originally impressed upon it, by some force directed *from* the sun drifting it back, and carrying it out to vast distances behind the nucleus, forming the tail, or so much of the tail as can be considered as consisting of material substance. 4th. That this force, whatever its nature, acts unequally on the materials of the comet, the greater portion remaining unvaporized, &c. considerable part of the vapor actually produced remaining in its neighborhood, forming the head and coma. 5th. That the force thus acting on the materials of the tail cannot possibly be identical with the ordinary gravitation of matter, being centrifugal or repulsive as respects the sun, and of an energy very far exceeding the gravitating force towards that

luminary. This will be evident if we consider the enormous velocity with which the matter of the tail is carried backward, in opposition both to the motion which it had as part of the nucleus, and to that which it acquired in the act of its emission, both which motions have to be destroyed in the first instance, before any movement in the contrary direction can be impulsed." It would seem to be impossible for matter driven to such enormous distances from the nucleus ever to be recalled by the attractive force of the comet. It is thus quite probable that some portion of the tails of comets is left behind at every return to the perihelion. This cometic matter thus left may be attracted to the earth and the planets, and be one source whence sporadic meteors are derived.

The tails of comets do not usually attain their greatest length till a short time after their perihelion passage. This is what we should expect if the sun is the principal producing cause. The tail usually inclines a little towards the region last quitted. The tails of some comets are considerably curved, others are nearly straight. The convex side, or that which is in the direction of the comet's motion, is much brighter than the other. Any theory of comets' tails must, it is evident, explain all these observed facts.

Various theories of comets' tails have been proposed to account for the phenomena which they present. Some have maintained that the conditions of equilibrium of a comet when acted on by its own feeble internal attraction and the powerful influence of the sun, are sufficient to account for all the phenomena presented by their tails. Kepler and others have attributed to the light of the sun a repulsive action sufficient to drive off the lighter portions of the comet in the form of the tail.

Others proposed a theory which, as subsequently modified by Bessel, is as follows: They suppose a repulsive force to reside in the sun, of a polar nature like magnetism and electricity. Olbers supposed the force to be electrical producing the repulsive force in the sun and a similar one in the comet, and a specific action in the sun which we may suppose exhibited in the case of many tails. Bessel subjected Olbers' hypothesis to a rigorous mathematical cal-

ulation, introducing such modifications as were found necessary. He supposed the action of the sun on the comet to be exercised in two different ways, namely, by a general action equal for every part, and by a differential action, strongest at those parts nearest to the sun, and most feeble at those parts farthest from him. At first, he supposes that the comet experiences the general action of the sun, and under this action the comet emits from every part of its nucleus particles of matter whose polarity is negative with respect to the sun. As the comet approaches the perihelion it will experience the second mode of action, giving it the positive pole which he supposes will be on the side next to the sun. At this point an emission of nebulous matter will commence; and since the polarity is positive, this emission will be directed towards the sun. In passing through the nebulous atmosphere, which is filled with negative particles, the nebulous matter emitted will gradually lose its primitive polarity and finally assume the opposite one before it reaches the limits of this atmosphere. This emission from the nucleus will now be driven back by the action of the sun, to form the tail.

After the appearance of the great comet of 1843, Professor Norton, without knowing what Olbers and Bessel had done, proposed a similar theory. The appearance of the great comet of 1858 afforded an excellent opportunity to test this theory. Norton modified his slightly and was thus enabled to account completely for the phenomena which the tail of the comet of Donati presented. It yet remained to subject the theory to a rigorous mathematical investigation. This was done by Professor Peirce. He supposes the tail to have the form of a hyperbola, and the repulsive force exercised by the sun to emanate from the focus of the opposite branch of the curve. In this way he was able to account completely for the appearance which the tail of Donati's comet presented.\*

Hevelius was the first to ascertain that the volumes of comets diminish as they approach the sun, and increase as they recede from him. For many years these observations

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\* *Astron. Jour.*, Vols. v. vi., p. 186, 50.

were neglected. In 1828, however, Struve measured the diameter of Encke's comet, and he found that on the 24th of December, when the comet was distant from the sun 0.5419, its diameter was 3.1 terrestrial radii; and on the 28th of the preceding October, when its distance was 1.4617, its diameter was 79.4 of the same linear unite. The volume in the one case was sixteen thousand times as great as in the other.\*

The great comet of 1858 afforded more information respecting the physical constitution of that class of bodies than all its predecessors. Particular attention was given to all the phenomena which the comet presented, by Professor Bond at Cambridge, with one of the finest telescopes in existence. He subsequently prepared a complete treatise on the comet, in which he has treated in detail all the observed phenomena.† The repulsive force which Sir John Herschel assumed to exist in the case of Halley's Comet (referred to on a preceding page) was manifested in a most palpable manner in the case of the great comet of 1858. The solar influence caused one envelope after another to ascend from the nucleus until some time after the perihelion passage. During this time the nucleus was found to diminish quite rapidly. Professor Bond watched carefully for a phase similar to that which the moon and inferior planets present, but none could be seen.

The head of this comet was so bright that it could be seen with the telescope for some time after sunrise. A few other comets have been much brighter. The comet of 43 B. C. could be seen two or three hours before sunset. The comet of the year 1402 could be seen at mid-day. The great comet of 1843 was visible when only a short distance from the sun. A comet of 1847 was seen at Dondas at mid-day. The third comet of 1853 was seen in the daytime when only 12° from the sun.

\* In general those comets which have been seen in the daytime, passed, at the time, very near the sun. The great

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\* *Annuaire* for 1832.

† *Annals of the Astron. Observ. of Harvard Coll.*, Vol. iii.; *Math. Monthly*, Vol. i.

comet of 1680, when nearest the sun, was within 590,000, miles of its centre; and that of 1843 was within 510,000 miles. The comet of 1847, referred to above, was within four million miles.

It has long been a question whether comets shine wholly by reflected light, or partly by light emitted directly from the nucleus. It was thought that reflected light could not explain all the phenomena presented by the great comet of 1811. Some observations of Arago on the comet 1819, and on Halley's comet in 1835, by means of the polariscope, seemed to show that at least a part of their light was reflected. Since the invention of the spectroscope, however, this question has been more definitely settled. In 1864 Donati found that the spectrum of a comet visible in that year consisted of bright lines; in other words, its material was in the condition of a luminous gas. The spectrum of a comet seen in January, 1866, with a faint nucleus, was found by Mr. Huggins to consist of two parts, a continuous spectrum and a bright point, showing that the coma shines by reflected light, but the nucleus is self-luminous, and similar in constitution to the nebular. Another observed by him in May, 1867, had a similar constitution.\*

Astronomers were scarcely prepared for this result of observation. Their deductions in relation to the constitution of comets were, that the nucleus partakes of the nature of a fluid or solid, and the envelope and tail, if any part, of the nature of a nebula. The spectroscope, however, has taught us that the reverse is the truth, at least in the case of those comets which have been examined. No bright comet has recently appeared so that its light might be examined, and we must patiently wait till some such comet makes its appearance.

M. Hock, of Utrecht, has instituted a comparison of the orbits of comets in such a way as to determine whether we should not consider some of those bodies as forming families, rather than being isolated bodies. "I admit," he says, "that the orbits of comets are by nature parabolas or hyperbolas,

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\* Month. Notices, Vol. xxvii. p. 288.

and that in the cases when elliptical orbits are met with, these are occasioned by planetary attractions, or derive their character from the uncertainty of our observations. To allow the contrary would be to admit some comets as permanent members of our planetary system, to which they ought to have belonged since its origin, and so to assert the simultaneous birth of that system and of these comets. As for me I attribute to these a primitive wandering character. Traveling through space they move from one star to another in order to leave it again provided they do not meet with any obstacle that may force them to remain in its vicinity. Such an obstacle was *Jupiter*, in the neighborhood of our sun, for the comets of Lxell and Brorsen, and probably for the greater part of periodical comets; the other part of which may be indebted for their elliptical orbits to the attractions of *Saturn* and the remaining planets. "Generally, then, comets come to us from some star or other. The attraction of our sun modifies their orbits, as had been done already by each star through whose sphere of attraction they have passed. We can put the question whether they come as single bodies or united in systems. This is the point I have undertaken to investigate. Since some time already I had felt the truth of the following thesis:—*There are systems of comets in space that are broken up by the attraction of our sun, and whose members attain, as isolated bodies, the vicinity of the earth during a course of several years.*" \*

To prove this thesis Hock thought it sufficient to show that some comets have once been near one another at a great distance from the sun; and also that they composed a system and had not been brought together by chance.

By comparing together the orbits of various comets he finds the comets 1860 III., 1863 I., and 1863 VI. to fulfil the conditions required. He also finds the comets of 1689 and 1698 to answer the conditions; also comets 1846 VII. and 1847 II.; 1857 III. and 1857 V.; 1862 II. and 1864 II.

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\* Monthly Notices, Vol. xxv., pp. 243-4. See also Vols. xxvi. & xxvii.

These systems which we have here enumerated, are composed of members whose motion is in the same direction. He finds several other systems some of whose members have direct, and others retrograde motion.

He calls the point where they came under the immediate control of the attraction of the sun, the aphelion point. We give his results for one system. For the aphelion positions he finds for the comets—

|           | Longitude. | Latitude. |
|-----------|------------|-----------|
| 1860 III. | 303.1°     | 73.2°     |
| 1863 I.   | 313.2°     | 73.9°     |
| 1863 VI.  | 313.9°     | 76.4°     |

For the distance from the sun he finds, taking the comets in the above order, the following numbers for the date A.D. 756.97, 600.00, 600.42, 600.25; and for the date A.D. 1020.87, 500.00, 500.56, 500.36. He concludes that these three comets form a system *not* brought together by chance. He adds another proof. Since these comets were once together and formed one, they were all at the same point on the celestial sphere when broken up, and their orbits must now all intersect in that point. He finds that they do, and its position is in Long.  $316^{\circ} 35' 55''$ ; and Lat.— $76^{\circ} 56' 42''$ . He further thinks that the star from which they came may be found, or its place within certain limits.

These researches of the Dutch astronomer and mathematician are very interesting. They have, it will be seen, a bearing on the *origin of comets*, a subject that is now attracting considerable attention. Some recent speculations of Sig. G. V. Schiaparelli, seem to show that there is a connection between comets and meteors, and that both were derived from regions of the universe beyond the solar system. He finds that the August ring of meteors and the second comet of 1862, have the same orbit, or at least within moderate limits.\* According to this, then, we are to regard the comet as a large meteor, or the meteors as small comets. He also finds that the orbit of the November meteors and the orbit of the first comet of 1866, correspond, and have the same relations as in the above case. Each has

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\* Monthly Notices. Vol. xxvii. p. 183. Ibid. p. 247.



a period of about thirty-three and a quarter years. At present there seems to be a strong probability that all comets now attached to our system, have been derived ab extra.

Since Newton's discovery of the law of universal gravitation, and the possibility of comets moving in any of the conic sections, they have exercised a marked influence on the development of mathematical analysis, in the calculation of orbits and the computation of perturbations. They seem now about to reveal to us the existence of forces in the sun that otherwise might never have been discovered. The motion of one, at least, discovers the existence of some opposing force in our system, unfelt, as yet, by the planets, which may yet very much derange the existing state of things.

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ART. VIII.—*A Hand Book of Politics for 1868.* By EDWARD MCPHERSON, LL. D. Washington, 1868.

WE have no intention of entering into any elaborate discussion of the respective claims of the candidates for the presidency. It would be entirely superfluous, for there never was a greater disparity between any two aspirants for that high office. Our remarks on this subject shall, therefore, be brief. We are convinced that the most thoughtless cannot compare Grant and Seymour with each other in an intelligent manner without deciding in favor of the former; no unprejudiced person endowed with common sense, and having any regard for his country, would hesitate for a moment to reject the latter. That many respectable men will vote for Seymour—men of talent and ability—we do not doubt; nor do we pretend that they should be regarded as rebels for doing so. It is certainly wrong to vote for an inferior man merely because he belongs to one's own party, but it is a wrong of which all parties are guilty. There should be no abuse, then, on either side, on this ground. It may be freely admitted that it by no means follows that a man is a "rebel," or that he is in any manner disloyal to his country, or its institutions, merely because he votes for Mr. Seymour; but it certainly does follow that he is a political partisan; that he is one who

has not independence enough to think and act for himself, but must think and act as his party requires him.

It is almost needless for us to say that it is not on political grounds we would choose General Grant for the presidential chair and reject Mr. Seymour; we judge each not by his party but by himself. We are in favor of the election of Grant, not because he is a Republican or a Radical, but because he has merited the gratitude of his country; and we are opposed to the election of Seymour, not because he is a Democrat, but because he has merited nothing good from his country. Indeed, we do not regard Grant as a politician at all; he is too honest and straightforward to be one; whereas Seymour is nothing but a politician. This is no mere matter of conjecture or inference. Both the candidates are tried men in a certain sense; one commanded our armies at the hour of the nation's greatest peril; the other was the Governor of the State of New York at the same hour.

Now which performed his duties best? Which proved the most faithful public servant? Which contributed most to vindicate the prestige of the American people as capable of defending, as well as governing themselves as a nation? In a word, did not Grant do all the good which it was possible for any one to do in his position? What more could have been done by Washington himself, could he have lived, to save the life of the Republic of which he was the founder? Nor could the Father of his country have treated the conquered, brave enemy, with more generosity.

What, upon the other hand, did Seymour do as governor? Could he have contributed less towards the salvation of the nation without a flagrant violation of his oath, if indeed he could have done so without rendering himself liable to be put on trial as a traitor? We do not agree with those who accuse Mr. Seymour of having sympathized with the rebels to the extent of wishing that they would succeed in dismembering the Republic. We believe that at heart he was in favor of maintaining the Union; but he had not the manliness to speak and act accordingly. The duplicity and chicanery of the politician clung to him all along. He always took into account the influence he might one day be able to exercise in

the South by a quasi sympathy with the rebels ; and it was precisely in the same spirit that he addressed the insurgent mob of New York, as his " friends."

The truth is, that he was a worse enemy to both than those who openly shot them down, because he deceived both and encouraged them to bring ruin on themselves. A large proportion of the rebels thought that Seymour represented the feeling of the majority of the population of the Empire State ; and that in time this feeling could not fail to manifest itself in their favor. Far from endeavoring to remove this impression, he did all in his power to strengthen it. The more calm and thoughtful of the Southerners understand this, and accordingly none detest or despise Seymour more.

Many even of the New York rioters, who belonged only to the lowest class, saw when it was too late, that, after all, Seymour was their enemy rather than their friend—they saw that it was their future votes he cared for, not themselves. Had it been otherwise, he would have threatened them with grape-shot rather than encouraged them to fight ; he would have told them that there was no reason why they should have any hatred to the poor negro ; that if they were poor it was not the negro's fault, and that still less, if possible, was it the fault of the Federal government. But he did nothing of the kind ; we will not say that he meant to prompt them to lawlessness and outrage ; we do not believe him so base as this, let others attribute to him what they will. But that his conduct was calculated to encourage them is beyond question ; and whom did they injure most by the course they pursued ? was it not themselves and their families ? Even the negroes, the particular objects of their wrath, were not as much injured ; one twentieth as many of them were not shot down, or maimed forever ; one twentieth as many colored children were not made fatherless by the rioters as there were white children made fatherless by the troops in their perfectly legitimate efforts to protect the lives and property of the peaceable inhabitants.

Yet, we are informed that Seymour and his friends—that is, those who expect to profit by his election—depend largely on the Irish vote. Now, assuming that he did not prompt

many of the Irish to mischief, and their own ruin—assuming that he has done them no harm—an assumption which is certainly not justified by the facts—what good has he ever done them? what real favor has he ever shown them as a people? We know, indeed, that he has made them promises enough, but what promise of any value—what promise that would give him the least trouble or cost him one dollar—has he fulfilled? Nay, what has he done for them in any way in public or private which he would not have done for Hindoos or Hottentots for the same price—that is, for their votes; not the votes they have given, but those that will be needed at a future time, as in the present instance?

It is not known, some say, what Grant may do; he may be prejudiced. But no great soldier like him was ever prejudiced against the Irish. Napoleon and the great Condé were equally friendly and kind to them; even their worst enemies, Cromwell and William III., paid the highest tributes to their bravery and fidelity. Who can say that Grant has ever treated the Irish soldiers in his armies otherwise than in a friendly spirit? What Irishman has he ever slighted or prevented from obtaining promotion, either on account of his nationality or his religion?

We allude thus to the Irish vote, and the influence which should guide it, because, although the class of Irishmen who do most of the voting are not readers of our journal, we have the honor of addressing a large number of the Catholic clergy in all parts of the country, South as well as North; from the humble curé and chaplain, up to the highest and greatest dignitary in America. We know from a personal experience and observation of more than forty years, that, whatever their detractors may say to the contrary, the priests and bishops always advise their people for their good; and this, be it observed, is not Catholic, but Protestant testimony—the testimony of one who spent twenty years of his life where there were very few but Catholics—scarcely a dozen in a whole extensive parish.

Our German friends are somewhat divided at present; but it is certain that the majority will vote for Grant, for they have never lost that admiration of courage and brilliant

and patriotic deeds for which Tacitus gave credit to their ancestors in his *Germania*—a work which will inspire them with redoubled enthusiasm if they will read it at the present time, when it is sought to degrade manliness, valor and patriotism, and elevate charlatanism, imbecility and pusillanimity.

Some pretend to fear that if General Grant were elected he would convert the republic into a military despotism ! Who can give the shadow of a reason for any such apprehension ? Upon the same ground, Washington should have been rejected ; so should Jackson—for both were military chieftains, while their military services were required by their country. If both were devoted to the arts of peace while there was no war, so was General Grant ; are not some so thoughtless as to make this very fact a cause of reproach to him ? forgetting that the great Cincinnatus of old left the plough in the furrow to go and fight for his country.

Had Grant been ambitious to be a despot he would not have acted as he has. Does any one think it likely that he will ever again have so large an army at his command as he so readily disbanded ? It is certain that he will not have a larger, at all events ; and it is still more certain that he never will have an army more devoted to him. Had he wished to establish a military despotism, the day that General Lee surrendered was his time. No one need have the least doubt that he could have succeeded then. But did he make the least attempt ? Was there anything in his conduct to justify the suspicion that such an idea ever entered his mind ?

It is true that many have a conscientious fear of entrusting successful generals with much civil power ; but the history of the world does not justify it, as can be easily proved. Thus, of all the generals whose conquests have rendered them illustrious, how many have availed themselves of their power to enslave their country ? If three can be said to have done so, it is certainly the most. Assuming it to be true that Cæsar, Napoleon, and Cromwell destroyed the liberties of their respective countries, it must be admitted as an evident fact, that a large proportion of those whom they enslaved, if not the overwhelming majority, were attached to

them to their death. It was not the masses that disliked the rule even of Cæsar; all the Roman historians, without exception, admit that they not only rendered him cheerful obedience as a sovereign, but loved him as a friend and protector; and when he was assassinated by Brutus and Cassius, they wept over him as a benefactor. Then, did the masses of Frenchmen regard Napoleon as having enslaved them? Did they not, on the contrary, almost idolize him? Is not his memory revered by them to this day? Those most opposed to the present emperor at the beginning of his reign, called him *Napoleon le Petit*, lest he might profit by the prestige of his uncle.

That the British people of his time did not regard Cromwell as a despot, is also sufficiently manifest. Seldom has any English sovereign been more popular; nor has any sovereign conferred more glory on England.

Now, here are three instances in all history, of successful military chieftains causing revolutions in their own favor; for these three, at least fifty scheming politicians have usurped the supreme power, and ruthlessly oppressed their countrymen. Upon the other hand, for the three successful generals who took the supreme power into their own hands, fifty equally successful, though not all equally famous, yielded up their power freely after they had defeated the enemies of their country. The great Scipio took no advantage of having completely and finally destroyed Carthage, the only State of her time able to rival Rome, or dispute with her the empire of the world. Hannibal, who was able to maintain himself for nineteen years in the heart of Italy, defeating the best of the Roman generals at the head of their chosen legions, could at any time during this period, have enslaved his countrymen; but although his troops were chiefly foreigners, the majority, Celts and Celtiberians, as we have shown in a former number of this journal, he was too generous to be guilty of any such base act. Then, to approach our own time and country, in all the South American States that have established their independence of Spain, there has not been a single instance of the successful general making himself a despot.

If we inquire who have been the most ferocious and

sanguinary tyrants, we shall find that far from being brave captains they were base cowards. This is emphatically true both of Caligula and Nero. The latter especially, was a great talker; he had quite a voluble and bland tongue; and it is well known that none were more likely to suffer at his hands, than those whom he called his "dearest friends"—*amici carissimi*.\*

But we do not think there is the least danger that Mr. Seymour will be elected. Mayor Hoffman would have been a much more formidable opponent to Gen. Grant, had he been nominated; vastly more reliance could have been placed on his word; and if elected, he certainly would have filled the presidential chair with more dignity and decorum, as well as with more ability than Mr. Seymour.

There is little doubt that General Grant will be elected; and there need be as little doubt that he will again prove himself worthy of the confidence of the American people. As to his dealing harshly with the Southerners, we do not believe he will. All know that it is not good, experienced soldiers that are constantly in dread of insurrections, but "non-combatant" politicians—persons who would see their country dismembered and crushed rather than expose their precious lives to the least danger.

Let the General provide himself with a good cabinet and all will go well. He certainly should not set aside all the cabinet of Lincoln and Johnson, but calmly take into consideration what each member has done, and what he has not done, as well as his honesty and fidelity, or his lack of those virtues compared with the functionaries occupying similar positions in the great nations of Europe.† Pursuing this course he cannot do otherwise than reject two or three, but especially Mr. Seward, for although we do not approve of vituperation or scurrility, we must admit that Judge Black has pretty faithfully described our present Secretary of State, in his recent letter to the President.

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\* *Vide Tacitus, passim.*

† *Vide review of Address of Geneva Chamber of Commerce in our last number; also Art. III. in No. for Dec. 1867.*

## IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

## BELLES LETTRES.

*Infelicia.* By ADAH ISAACS MENKEN. Philadelphia, &c., 1868.

No publisher's name appears on this book; but it is advertised by J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia; and on inquiry we have been informed that it is those gentlemen who introduce it to the American public. But we cannot say we are surprised at this. Why would they refuse to become the sponsors of a book so strongly recommended by the author of "Spiritual Wives?" Whatever panders to vice is very apt to pay; we have no doubt, therefore, that Lippincott has made quite a handsome affair of that work. Well may his countrywomen thank him for giving all the currency in his power to Mr. Hepworth Dixon's estimate of their virtue and fidelity!

He has now a still stronger claim on their gratitude, if it be true that it is he who recommends them this book. But some will ask, Has he a daughter, a wife, or a sister? We do not know whether he has or not; nor do we want to make any inquiry about his private affairs. We only judge him by his public acts; we ask, what would be said of the publisher of a sort of autobiography of Lola Montez, written in what is vulgarly called "prose run mad," and interspersed with eulogies from her paramours, the *tout ensemble* being styled poems, and attributed to the heroine?

It may be urged that perhaps Mr. Charles Dickens would not have honored Lola with an autograph letter to be prefixed to her "*Infelicia*," as he has Adah Isaacs Menken, although the former was certainly a more beautiful woman than the latter. Whether she was more virtuous, or as much so, it is not for us to say, although a censorious world has taken nearly equal liberties with the reputation of both. If Lola was not entirely innocent, perhaps Adah was. At least, this must be the belief of Mr. Lippincott; and we all know that an actress of the third or fourth rank is very liable to be slandered, especially when possessed of a certain amount of charms, and imbued with more than ordinary confidence in the honor and fidelity of mankind, especially of men who separate from their wives when they rise in the world!

Be this as it may, the "volume of poems" entitled *Infelicia* is not worth much. Had it been the work of an angel, it could not have done much good; the profane would have said that, after all, ambrosia must be intoxicating, or otherwise it should be concluded that angels sometimes rave, and utter things which neither gods nor men can understand. At all events, we must confess that we do not understand one fourth of the fine "poetry" attributed to Adah; and this one fourth is half "Proverbial



Philosophy," half "Leaves of Grass." It reads as if Tupper and Walt Whitman had dictated to Adah alternately, leaving her time, however, to introduce some theatrical ejaculations here and there. But our judgment and taste may be at fault; our readers may entirely disagree with us. As a matter of course, one of the best "poems" receives the first place. We will not garble this, but give the whole of the first stanza of "Resurgam:"—

"Yes, yes, dear love! I am dead!

Dead to you!

Dead to the world!

Dead for ever!

It was one young night in May.

The stars were strangled, and the moon was blind with the flying clouds of a black despair.

Years and years the songless soul waited to drift out beyond the sea of pain where the shapeless life was wrecked.

The red mouth closed down the breath that was hard and fierce.

The mad pulse beat back the baffled life with a low sob.

And so the stark and naked soul unfolded its wings to the dimness of Death!

A lonely, unknown Death.

A Death that left this dumb, living body as his endless mark.

And left these golden billows of hair to drown the whiteness of my bosom.

Left these crimson roses gleaming on my forehead to hide the dust of the grave.

And Death left an old light in my eyes, and old music for my tongue, to deceive the crawling worms that would seek my warm flesh.

But the purple wine that I quaff sends no thrill of Love and Song through my empty veins.

Yet my red lips are not pallid and horrified.

Thy kisses are doubtless sweet that throb out an eternal passion for me!

But I feel neither pleasure, passion nor pain.

So I am certainly dead.

Dead in this beauty!

Dead in this velvet and lace!

Dead in these jewels of light!

Dead in the music!

Dead in the dance!"—p. 9.

Is this poetry? or what is it? There are four other stanzas of the same kind, besides the closing one, which is brief and quite sanctimonious:

"How did I die?

No man has wrenched his shroud from his stiffened corpse to say:

'*Ye murdered me!*'

No woman has died with enough of Christ in her soul to tear the bandage from her glassy eyes and say:

'*Ye crucified me!*'

Resurgam! Resurgam!"—p. 13.

Turning over the leaves of *Infelicia* somewhat listlessly, we find a poem "after Ossian," entitled "Battle of the Stars," in which Love is made to do everything great and good. But it will remind the classical reader much more of the atheistic Roman, than of the Celtic bard—especially of the passage in which Lucretius makes all things proceed from "Alma Venus," whom he declares to be the only creator of the universe,—

Per te quoniam genus omne animantum  
Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina solis.

But let us see one or two of the numerous good things Love does in the hands of Adah, and how poetically and gracefully his actions succeed each other. It seems that for some reason or other, he is the particular friend of Garibaldi, and the sworn enemy of Austria:

"It is thy powerful hand that lights up to Heaven the inspired life of Garibaldi. And it is thy undying power that will clothe Italy in the folds of thy wings, and rend the helmet from the dark brow of old Austria, and bury her in the eternal tomb of darkness."—p. 43.

Is not this a curious sort of poetry "after Ossian!" We find more curious still, however, as we proceed—such for example as the following line:

"Their black unmuzzled hounds howl their impatience as we come on watch in our glittering armor."—p. 44.

The autobiographic part we leave it to others to extract. The *moral* lessons of Adah, may be very good for a publisher like Mr. Lippincott, but they are not such as we wish to present to our readers. We doubt whether they will pay in any sense, for if they have any charm, it is of a very coarse, *outré* kind.

We would gladly have passed the volume over in silence, but we find it is not alone in the newspapers, it is advertised as the work of a "fast woman." Placards as large as a barn door, are posted in all parts of New York headed in the largest letters "Adah Isaacs Menken," and proclaiming that all should read her "revelations." Whether Mr. Lippincott be the author of the sensational placard, we will not undertake to say; it is quite possible that he has a rival in the business of seeking to make money by dragging before the public what decency and manliness, not to mention respect for the sex, should veil from vulgar gaze.

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#### EDUCATION.

*The Scientific Basis of Education demonstrated by an analysis of the Temperaments and Phrenological Facts, in connection with Mental Phenomena and the office of the Holy Spirit in the processes of the Mind.* In a series of letters, &c., by JOHN HECKER. Octavo. A. S. Barnes & Co. 1868.

VERILY we Americans ought to be a wonderfully learned people! More text-books are manufactured for us annually than for any other people on the globe. We have now at least five hundred series of "spellers and definers" alone, not to mention grammars, geographies, atlases, etc., etc.; certainly more than the English, Germans and French combined. The last has always new features, all the modern improvements, and of course surpasses all the rest!

We are reminded of these peculiar advantages by the very laborious efforts which some of our enterprising contemporaries are making just now, as the schools are opening, to please the various rival manufacturers of that important class of goods. Alas! for the poor scribes who have to puff good, bad and indifferent alike. If they were our mortal enemies, we could not wish them a harder fate.

Why not imitate our plan, and see if it would not prove the best in the long run; that is, set a price on your advertisements, which, while fair and moderate, will exclude the vulgar. If some of the latter be tempted by their avarice to patronize you still, instead of soap or paregoric, give them a little nitric acid. In other words, if a worthless book is sent to your office, inform your readers honestly that it is worthless. In time, respectable people will patronize you,—the judicious, spirited class, who, far from asking cheap goods for themselves, will not associate with those who deal in such.

The puffers will not be interfered with by us, however, in any more direct or personal manner than this, except they are uncivil to ourselves, and put on airs, which do not belong to them; in which case we might be tempted to show whom it may concern, the precise value and true character of the article in which they deal; for, though benevolent and peaceful in our disposition, we are not a "non-combatant," and have never announced ourselves as such, for any purpose whatever.

But to return to the volume before us. This, we suppose, is the latest improvement. The title-page will give most of our readers a sufficient idea of its character. It seems that in future the rising generation must be taught phrenologically; if not, there can be no success; stupidity and ignorance must prevail. Hitherto phrenology has had to perform its wonders alone; but in future it is to be aided by the Holy Spirit! At least, those who use the work before us will have that unspeakable advantage; and accordingly it is recommended by a large number of pious school superintendents, whose letters are published at the beginning of the volume, so that no one need doubt the miraculous character of the "Scientific Basis."

Seriously, we are surprised at the countenance given the new doctrine by Superintendent Randall and his assistant, Mr. Kiddle, both of whom we have always regarded as sensible, thoughtful men. But it seems the author has once been a colleague of theirs; and it is well known that they are of a benevolent and obliging disposition. We think we do them much more credit by taking this view of the case than we should by supposing for a moment that they really believe the Holy Spirit acts in connection with the new "science."

In every other enlightened country, phrenology is regarded as an exploded theory. At no time has it been accepted anywhere by scientific men worthy of the name; on the contrary such have invariably rejected it.

This our readers will remember we have abundantly proved in a former number of this journal.\*

Then are we to palm off on the rising generation as a science what the English, French and Germans have denounced as an imposture, after a most careful and thorough examination of every thing claimed in its favor? But now the Holy Ghost is brought in as an ally of phrenology. We may expect that the next science introduced into our schools will be that of spirit-rapping; that spirit-rapping has more to do with the volume before us than the Holy Spirit, or any truthful spirit, we think we need hardly inform our readers.

*Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, with a Vocabulary and Notes.*  
By WILLIAM BINGHAM, A.M., Superintendent of the Bingham School.  
12mo. pp. 848. Philadelphia. E. H. Butler & Co. 1868.

It always affords us pleasure to recommend a good text-book: and no one of a different character, bearing the imprint on the volume now before us, has ever fallen into our hands. Whether the name of Butler appears on a geography, an atlas, a grammar, a history, or an edition of some ancient classic, we are confident before we open a page of it that, at least, it is no catch-penny. Far be it from us to deny that the Harpers, Ivison, Phinney & Co. and Ticknor & Fields, publish some excellent works; and when we meet with such we most cheerfully recommend them. But we know no publisher more scrupulously or more intelligently careful in his selections of text-books, than Butler; he is the only prominent publisher in America whose publications we have never thought deserving of censure.

We know very well how ready a certain class of minds are to attribute motives both for censure and approbation. It may, therefore, be said that our preference for the publications of this house results from self-interest; but it is a false inference. Many whose books we have criticised have patronized us much more than Butler. Had self-interest been our motive, we would have praised the books of J. B. Lippincott, T. B. Peterson, A. S. Barnes, &c. These are the gentlemen who value puffs, and have as great a horror of criticism as Satan is said to have for holy water. But have we gratified them in this respect? Our readers will bear us testimony that we have always designated the sort of pabulum they furnish by its proper name; yet if they so far improved in their taste and morals as to publish good books, even at the eleventh hour, none would recommend such more cheerfully than we. As it is, we leave the eulogizing of their wares to those who have a stomach for that sort of thing.

We have but little to say of "Bingham's Cæsar;" so judiciously and carefully edited a text-book, needs no homily to recommend it. Some

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\* Vide No. XIV. September, 1868, Art. Spuriousness and Charlatanism of Phrenology.

time since we examined a Latin grammar, compiled by the same gentleman; we found it more in accordance with our idea of what a grammar ought to be than any we had seen for several years, and we took the liberty of recommending it to our educational friends accordingly. For similar reasons we now invite attention to "Bingham's Cæsar," feeling satisfied that it will elicit the approval of any competent educator who takes the trouble to examine it.

The notes of Prof. Bingham are not "copious," but they contain all the information that a student, supposed to have a teacher, ought to receive from his text-book. The vocabulary at the end of the volume is, in every respect, the best we have seen in any edition of Cæsar; nor have we seen a better specimen of the original text in any school-book.

*College Life: its Theory and Practice.* By STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., LL. D. 12mo, pp. 289. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THERE is much excellent advice in this volume. Teachers as well as students will find it worthy of careful perusal. It consists of seven lectures on the theory and practice of scholastic life, and four baccalaureate addresses, each series being much above the average of the similar efforts of the present day.

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OFFICIAL ETHICS.

*Letter from the Citizens' Association to George W. McLean, Esq., Street Commissioner.* New York, August, 1868.

THE Citizens' Association has undoubtedly done good: we think it has done so with this letter. Sometimes it has made charges which it could not sustain—charges which, in due time, were proved to be unjust and unfounded. This, it will be remembered, was the character of its charges against Comptroller Brennan; and they were dismissed, accordingly, by Governor Fenton. Feeling satisfied that Brennan performed his duties faithfully, we criticised the action of the Citizens' Association, believing that, however well disposed the majority of its members were, it was led into error on this occasion, by parties whose speculations had been interfered with by the comptroller; and this was the conclusion which Governor Fenton arrived at, on mature deliberation, nearly six months afterwards.

So well convinced were we of the integrity and fidelity of Matthew T. Brennan that we thought it would be difficult for any party to produce a man who would protect the public interests committed to his charge so faithfully as he. When his successor was elected we knew nothing of him; we therefore said nothing. Mr. Richard R. Connolly has now been in office nearly two years, and we have never expressed any

opinion of him in one way or other. In the meantime we have not been unmindful of the manner in which he performed his duties. We are not aware whether the Citizens' Association has made any charge against him or not; but the result of our own observation and inquiries is, that we regard him as fully equal to his predecessor in honesty and faithfulness as a public officer.

The charges against Mr. Brennan considerably lessened our faith in the Association; they did not prevent us, however, from examining those which it preferred against the late street commissioner; nor did it prevent us from declaring those charges substantially correct, and urging the removal of the delinquent.

We confess we also thought there was some foundation for its charges against Mr. Richard O'Gorman, our corporation counsel; and we have refrained from discussing the subject only because we did not wish to do so without seeing what explanation he had to offer, and because, if he has ever made one, as he promised to do, it has escaped our attention. It is in order to obviate a similar disappointment that we now take up the letter before us, lest Mr. McLean also may be too tedious in explaining his affair. It is proper to say that we cannot tell, from our own knowledge, whether Mr. O'Gorman really used the enormous number of ink-bottles, and the immense piles of letter-paper, etc., etc., for which he was alleged to have charged the tax-payers of New York. For aught we know to the contrary the bottles may have been broken, and the paper stolen! Other items in his bill against the city might perhaps be explained in a similar manner. What we thought was, that the gentleman occupied himself in giving "counsel" to the public at large, in the shape of speeches and lectures, much more than in giving it in any shape to the corporation. In short, our opinion was that he devoted so much of his time to the former, that he had little left for the latter—and would not this account for his paying those large sums for "assistant counsel?" It should, perhaps, be also taken into account, in favor of our corporation counsel, that his peculiar style of rhetoric requires considerable practice, and that it is liable to be injured by the vulgar realities of life.

But our street commissioner cannot pretend that he has any fine strings of metaphors to manufacture, either for the instruction of the corporation, or that of the public at large. All he has to do is simply to keep our streets and wharves clean and in tolerable order, and for this he is allowed plenty of money; but it is expected by those who pay it, that he will keep honest accounts, and that in making necessary purchases for it he will be somewhat guided by the market-price. The Citizens' Association alleges, however, in the communication before us, that he has forgotten this part of his duty, and it enters into details as follows:—

"It appears, from the records of your department, that from the aforesaid first day of July, 1867, to the first day of July, 1868, a period of one year, there has been drawn from the City Treasury, on your requisition and certificate, the

sum of \$77,883 12 for the alleged purpose of paying for repairing certain of the piers.

"Of this sum, \$6,705 86 was alleged to be for lumber used in repairing the planking or sheathing of the piers, \$3,181 28 for nine and ten inch iron spikes and bolts to fasten down such planking, and the balance, or \$67,995 98, for workmen's labour in laying the said planking.

"The first matter of astonishment in regarding these figures is the extraordinary disproportion of material and labor.

|                       |            |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Lumber.....           | \$6,705 86 |
| Spikes and bolts..... | 3,181 28   |
| Workmen's wages.....  | 67,995 98  |

\$77,883 12

"It thus appears that to lay *one dollar's worth of planking requires eleven dollars' worth of skilled labor!*"

Whether all this be true or not, we cannot take it upon us to say; but if it is, it is clear that Mr. McLean must have rather confused notions of the difference between right and wrong, however well he may understand addition, multiplication, and profit and loss. But in the document before us it is further alleged that our street commissioner employed most men when least work was to be done, and that this happened about election time.

"The records of your department show the following singular facts:

"In July, 1887, you employed fifty-four men, and they laid 30,000 feet of planking on the piers. The next month [August] you hired seventy-one men, who laid less than 11,000 feet. The month after [September] you hired 101 men, who laid less than 7,000 feet of lumber. The next month [October] you hired 154 men, who laid a little over 6,000 feet of lumber, and in November it appears you hired 218 men, who laid only 34,000 feet of planking, while in the month of July before, fifty-four men had laid 30,000 feet."

We entirely agree with the Association, that "these figures tell their own tale, and no comment on them is necessary." The only question is, Are they correct? We have no reason to think they are otherwise; although we should be very glad to see Mr. McLean prove that they are wrong, because the conduct they imply as they stand would be a disgrace, not only to the individual or individuals guilty of it, but to the city of New York. But we will extract one passage more for future reference:

"This system of overcharging is found as well in the iron spikes and bolts used in repairing the piers, as in the lumber. The spikes bought by you for this purpose, to the amount of 34,279 pounds, were charged to the City and paid for on your certificate at the rate of *nine (9) cents* per pound, when they could be obtained at the same time for *four and one half to five cents per pound*.

"But it is in the contemplation of the gross overcharge that the full extent of the wrong done the City can be understood.

"The following brief statement will show it:

|                                            |            |
|--------------------------------------------|------------|
| You charge for 189,519 feet of lumber..... | \$6,705 86 |
| For 34,729 pounds spikes and bolts.....    | 3,181 28   |
| Workmen to lay same.....                   | 67,995 98  |

Total for repairing 21 piers..... \$77,883 12

"While the same repairing should cost :

|                                                     |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 82,500 feet of lumber.....                          | \$2,082 50 |
| 34,279 pounds of spikes and bolts.....              | 1,713 95   |
| Labour, at \$10 per 1,000 feet to lay the same..... | 825 00     |

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| Total..... | \$4,601 45 |
|------------|------------|

"From this statement it appears that the tax-payers are compelled to see their officials expend over *seventy thousand dollars more than is necessary* in and about a single item of the public works."

A pretty costly "item," it must be admitted. Now what we would advise is this; let those who squander the public money in this way, be brought to trial as soon as possible, whether they be counsellors or commissioners. If there be no law to punish office-holders for obtaining money out of the treasury under false pretences, then let our citizens convene in an orderly manner and call on them to resign.

The functions of the Citizens' Association are similar to those of the Spartan Ephori, whose duty it was to see that the people were not imposed upon by either the kings or the senate; but it was also the duty of the ephori to see that malefactors were not confounded with benefactors. They were sworn to distinguish the good from the bad; the innocent from the guilty. But is this distinction made in New York at the present day? The best answer to this, is, that no one can charge Mayor Hoffman or Comptroller Connolly with any malfeasance in office, or any abuse of the power with which they have been entrusted by the people, and yet they are constantly ranked in the disgraceful category of "the ring." This is not fair or just; what is worse, it has a vicious influence. Its tendency is to create the impression that it is all the same, so far as reputation is concerned, to those filling public offices in New York, whether they be honest or dishonest, since they will all be stigmatized alike as belonging to "the ring."

But why does not the Association turn its attention to the custom-house? Why not send Smythe a letter? Is it considered imprudent or dangerous to catechise him relative to his army of dark lanterns and dead-heads?

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#### COMMERCE AND HISTORY.

*Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Statistics on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, for the Fiscal year ended June 30, 1867. Octavo, pp. lxxxii, 379, Washington, 1868.*

ALL who take any interest in our commerce, or in our progress as a nation, should carefully examine this work; they should not be deterred by the enormous mass of figures which it contains, and of which it is chiefly composed; for it only requires a slight examination of those figures, to see that they speak an eloquent language, and give warnings to which none should be indifferent. It is one of the greatest defects in our system of education, that it overlooks the value of statistics, which



form the basis of every system of philosophy that has any pretensions to truth.

It will be easy to understand this, if it be remembered that statistics, properly so-called, represent a collection of facts; and it is by comparing facts with each other and examining their relations that the most important discoveries are made. Without the study of statistics, no people can understand their own relative position as a nation; hence it is that there are so few statesmen and so much national arrogance. There is no other criterion by which the statesman can be distinguished from the mere politician, or the scientific man from the thoughtless smatterer, than by the attention he bestows on facts which, when taken singly or casually, appear insignificant, calculated rather to lead astray than to guide in the right direction, but which, when classed into series, reveal the most abstruse mysteries.

Exaggerated praise of a people by their politicians, or their press, does them as much mischief as exaggerated praise by their teachers does students. The former as well as the latter become arrogant and boastful. They think that since they already surpass all their neighbors, they need not give themselves much trouble about any greater progress. If upon the other hand they are reminded that they are lagging, or at least, that they will soon be outstripped if they do not bestir themselves, their efforts, and the results of those efforts will be very different.

The latter is the course pursued in the valuable Report before us. Neither the Director of the Bureau of Statistics, nor the Secretary of the Treasury, whom he addresses, is a politician. Both address themselves to stern facts, and show what these facts mean—let the politicians and their aiders and abettors growl or abuse as they will, when the conclusions they arrive at are not favorable to their plans. Everybody knows how much it is the habit with our third and fourth-rate political orators to congratulate us on the immense progress we are making. But the facts show a different state of things. Thus, in commenting on a table exhibiting the domestic export trade of the United States with all countries, in 1860 and 1867, respectively, amounting to over one million dollars, Mr. Alexander Delmar makes the following rather startling remarks:—

“Compared with 1860 our domestic exports for 1867 have *fallen off* nearly 39 millions of dollars, or over 10 per cent. During the same period the domestic exports of the United Kingdom have *increased* 237 millions of dollars, or 30 per cent., and those of France (proper) 226.2 millions, or 43 per cent. Whatever have been the causes that have enabled Great Britain and France to *outstrip us in their foreign commerce*, it would seem that now no means should be neglected that will tend to at least *restore our lost position*. France has now *double the amount of exports that we have*, the United Kingdom *three times the amount*, and when it is remembered, not alone in its commercial, but in its social and equalizing aspect, what an important agent international commerce has become in the diffusion of intelligence and capital, and in the consequent promotion of peace and happiness, the suggestion derives new force, and demands that it be regarded *with more than passing attention*.”—(p. xxxv.)

Very few are ready to believe all this, so prone are our politicians to

pursue the course of a mutual admiration society in this particular respect. As the quack doctors laud the healing art to the skies as superior to all others, while abusing each other as impostors, so do the politicians praise the people at large while vilifying each other. But Mr. Delmar enters into particulars :—

“Descending to details, our exports to the United Kingdom since 1860 have fallen off 13 millions of dollars, or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; to France, 24.8 millions, or 42 per cent. ; and to British North America, 3 millions, or  $16\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The percentage of decrease of exports to the United Kingdom is therefore much less, while that of the exports to France and British North America is considerably greater than the percentage of the entire decrease. Our exports to France have fallen off *four times as much in proportion as those to all countries combined* ; and to British North America nearly twice as much. On the contrary, our exports to the North German Union, (Prussia, the Hanse Towns, &c.,) and particularly to Hamburg, have increased ; the increase, taking the Union collectively, being 6.2 millions, or nearly 42 per cent. A like increase is also to be observed in our small export trade to Belgium ; but with these exceptions, our exports to the West of Europe show a marked decline.—(p. xxxv.)

This is not at all agreeable ; but we do not think it in the least strange. We have often complained, in these pages, that no government in the world, of any great nation, gives so little encouragement to commerce as ours. It is the duty of Congress to encourage so important a branch of the national industry, and so great a source of national wealth, not to mention its effect on civilization ; but when has it done as much as the governments of some of the pettiest states of Europe ?—nay, some of the Hanse Towns alluded to in the above extract ? It refuses even to aid in establishing a steamship line to carry the United States Mail, in which the public could have confidence, so that three-fourths of our mail matter has to be carried by British, French, and German vessels ! The wonder would be if our commerce did flourish, while thus utterly neglected by our government. Let us hope it will be different in the future ; that Congress will devote less of its time to party bickerings, which benefit none, but bring discredit on all, and more of its time and thought to the national welfare. It is true that hitherto there were no reliable statistics from which our statesmen could form an accurate idea of our relative position either as to imports or exports ; those that purported to be such were only calculated, by the use made of them by our politicians, to foster that assumption of superiority and spirit of arrogance which have now come to be regarded as national characteristics. Referring to what we regard as the source of these feelings, Mr. Delmar truly remarks :

“The public disrepute that attached to the accounts has been mentioned. They had been discredited and assailed by private individuals and the press, and *even officers of the government had not hesitated to impugn their correctness*, in their official reports, and stigmatize them as *worthless*. To ascertain definitely to what extent these charges were well founded was one of the necessities of my office ; without it reform was impossible.

“In two words, then, their condition was even worse—much worse—than was publicly supposed, and the law that established this Bureau and that led to an investigation of these accounts will, it is confidently claimed, be admitted as one of the most successful measures of the 39th Congress, and of your adminis-

tration of the Treasury Department, during which, mainly through the untiring efforts of Mr. Commissioner Wells, it was passed."—(p. xliii.)

On this point also we have some interesting details. The Director of the Bureau shows how it was that we seemed to be doing a much larger business than we really were, though our business was really larger than it is now when our politicians would have us believe that we surpass all mankind.

"The 'import' tables published by other countries having a custom-house system are generally so arranged that a distinction is shown between the commodities imported, i. e., brought or landed from foreign countries to or at the home country during a given period of time, and those which passed the custom-house line *into* the home country during the same period of time. But this was not the case with our 'import' account, which was framed to show only the commodities that were *landed* from foreign countries during a given period of time, and did not show the commodities that during the same period of time entered into the country for home consumption, upon paying duties, if dutiable: which might be more or less, in a year, to a very considerable extent. It is, however, the amount of the latter—the commodities entered into the home country for home consumption—that is properly to be contrasted with the exports during a given period of time; and not that of the entries or commodities landed, which may always and properly embrace commodities that are never destined to enter into the consumption of the country in any way."—*ib.*

But the Bureau of Statistics is not the only one in which order has been brought out of chaos under the administration of Mr. McCulloch. We wish he could produce a similar reform in the New York custom-house, for nowhere is it more wanting. But as long as Mr. Smythe rules no improvement need be expected there. The Secretary of the Treasury has done his part in ordering him to dismiss a considerable proportion of those whom, under one pretext or another, he has set to feed at the public crib.

This has greatly excited the ire of the immaculate Smythe. Mr. McCulloch must be very stupid and entirely incompetent to manage our finances because he objects to allow our worthy collector to salary a host of idle, greedy retainers! Mr. Smythe thinks that he is on the safe "popular" side, because, with two or three exceptions, there is scarcely a daily or a weekly paper in New York which is not represented at the custom-house, on the half sinecure list, by an "itemiser," whom it was desirable on the part of the editor to get rid of without throwing him upon the world. Thus Smythe has quite a troop of the dark lanterns of literature always ready to eulogise him as the great friend of the merchants, and to raise a howl of abuse against any one who dares to find fault with his peculiar mode of "collecting."

*A History of England, from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688.* By JOHN LINGARD, D. D. In thirteen volumes. New York: P. O'Shea.

It would be superfluous to speak of the merits of Lingard's History; they are now everywhere acknowledged. There is no work we quote

ourselves with more confidence in its honesty and truthfulness. All we mean, therefore, on the present occasion, is simply to say that Mr. O'Shea deserves not a little credit for his spirit and enterprise in issuing so tasteful, convenient and excellent an edition as that now before us.

*Portraits of Celebrated Women*, by C. A. SAINTE-BEUVE. Translated from the French by H. W. PRESTON: 16mo. pp. 384. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1868.

HAD this interesting volume reached us in time we should have taken pleasure in reviewing it. As it is, we have only time to say that it will repay a careful perusal. It embraces brief but comprehensive sketches of nine of the representative women of France, including De Stael, De Sévigné, Roland, De Remusat, and De Souza.

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#### APPENDIX.

1. *Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department*. State of New York. *Life Insurance*. Albany, 1868.
2. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*. *Life and Accident Insurance*. Boston, 1868.

It will be pretty generally agreed, by all who take the trouble of examining for themselves, that our State superintendent has treated fire and marine insurance with much more impartiality, intelligence, and ability, in his Ninth Annual Report, than Life Insurance. In our last number we gave a cursory review of his Fire and Marine Report, and had little to find fault with, but much to commend; and we gave our impressions of it accordingly, quoting several extracts as worthy the attention both of insurers and insured. It would afford us pleasure to do the same in the present case, but truth and justice forbid us.

We have not the least doubt that the intentions of Mr. Barnes are honest; but he is not at all times so cautious or skeptical as it is necessary that a man in his position should be. We do not wish to say that he is credulous, but he is too easily influenced by those who combine a certain sort of shrewdness and wiliness with their avarice. That persons of this character should take more pains to influence him than those whom money could not induce to swerve from a straightforward course, is no more than might be expected. This is the secret of the great love Mr. Barnes has for "the exclusively cash system" in insurance, and of his hatred of "the note system." Some, it is true, insinuate that it is not altogether for nothing he has such admiration for the Mutual Life, and its *cash* plan; but this we do not believe. In our opinion he is no more bound in gratitude to Mr. Winston than he is to others, but, as everybody knows, the latter gentleman is very pious in his habits. Our readers

are well aware that no one is more uneasy about the heathen than he; no one talks louder about sending them the Bible than the president of the Mutual Life. Then, when it is remembered that Mr. Barnes is also somewhat pious, it will be easy to account for his admiration without impugning his integrity.

But will this satisfy those whose system Mr. Barnes condemns? Have the note companies no reason to complain because the superintendent is "conscientious" in representing their plan as comparatively worthless? There are those, indeed, who carry on their business on the note, or part note plan, in whom we have little faith, but there are those who boast of carrying on their business on the exclusively cash plan in whom we have still less faith, if possible. Yet we do not condemn either plan as such; there are good, honest men on each side; but there are certainly more on the note side than on the cash side—ten to one—as we can easily show, in the course of our remarks.

We have already seen that it is not those who are really the best men that always appear such, even to a public functionary so well disposed as Mr. Barnes. Men conscious of their integrity and rectitude of conduct have no fear of the officers of the law; they do not deem it necessary to take any pains to conciliate them. For the opposite reason, others are constantly seeking to ingratiate themselves. Now who are they that take most pains with Mr. Barnes? Who get up dinners for him? Who visit him at Albany? Who send him presents? Who are not content with merely affixing their own signatures to a memorial to the Legislature for his reappointment to office, but go about among their friends to get as many more for him as they can? Then, upon the other hand, who are they that treat Mr. Barnes like any other gentleman with whom they are acquainted, without making any particular fuss about him, whether he is in town, or out of town?

We all know that the most amiable dispositions are liable to be rendered very unamiable under certain circumstances. Thus, a young lady who is in the habit of being praised for her charms by all who approach her, will regard herself as slighted and offended by those who address her merely as politeness and good breeding require; and public functionaries have been greatly misrepresented in all ages if they are not very much like the young lady in this respect.

There are several companies by which Mr. Barnes has been "slighted" in this way. By none, we believe, has he been more slighted than by the Knickerbocker Life, the New England Mutual Life, and the *Ætna* Life, although none are more courteous; that is, their slighting has consisted in not making any fuss about our superintendent. Evidently they did not think there was any need; nor have we heard that they have changed their mind on that subject. But they are note companies; although, when an insured life drops, and money is fairly claimed, no cash company, either in America or Europe, is more ready or willing to pay the cash than they. Nor are the Manhattan Life, the Mutual Benefit

Life, the Phoenix Mutual Life, the Charter Oak Life, the National Life, the Continental Life, and the Security Life—all note companies—less willing or ready. Yet, as we have said, the note system does not please Mr. Barnes.

Once or twice we have had occasion to make some criticisms on Mr. Elizur Wright, though never on his views on insurance, which we have always regarded as sound. As to his integrity, we should have required no better guarantee for it, had we never had any other knowledge of the gentleman than that he has been for years the actuary of the New England Mutual Life and of the Knickerbocker Life, and has frequently acted as the accredited representative of the president of the former institution. For these reasons we do not quote his testimony the less cheerfully now, on the subject under consideration, for having formerly differed with him on minor points. A friend having called our attention to a paper of his in one of the insurance journals, we have read it carefully, and we fully concur in the views he embodies in the following passage:

"But when Mr. Barnes, either on his own motion, or *that of interested parties*, levels a battery charged with figures, that *ought* never to lie, against an American improvement in Life Insurance, he does a positive injury. And he does deliberately aim to sap the foundations and destroy the credit of *more than half the companies* doing business in the State of New York, by arguments which are *specious to popular prejudice, but utterly fallacious*. The agents of a *particular class* of companies are now, in fact, circulating a portion of Mr. Barnes' report as a 'cheap tract,' to ruin the credit of all the rest. This work of destruction, not to say wickedness, is confined, I believe, to what are called "all cash" companies. The magnitude of the intended mischief will be seen by the statistics of the '*part-note*' companies, *against which it is directed*. Of the forty-four companies included in Mr. Barnes' report as doing business in New York, twenty-five come, more or less, under this censure and rebuke, *for taking a part of the premium in the note of the insured*. Their business compares with that of the other companies thus:

|                | Companies. | Amount Insured.    |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| Part note..... | 25         | \$816,477,112.28   |
| All cash.....  | 19         | 845,362,663.99     |
| Total.....     | 44         | \$1,161,729,776.27 |

"The 'part-note' system, was, I believe, an American experiment, rather blunderingly initiated, to be sure, but the figures above look as though it might be a success. I believe it so, and that it has resulted in a *most valuable improvement upon life insurance*—even with 'all cash' payments—as heretofore practised in the mother-country. That is, we owe to this great experiment the protection of *all* the policy-holders in this country, in a great measure, against the injustice of forfeiting, in case of discontinuance, their *self-insurance fund*, or the money they have paid beyond the risk and expenses which the company has actually borne. But Mr. Barnes gives the whole weight of his official opinion, together with a most remarkable table of figures (*see his Report, lxxv.-lxxviii.*) to sustain the charge that there is something rotten at the foundation of all this eight hundred and sixteen millions of insurance."

In point of fact, the rottenness is on the other side. We really cannot remember a single cash company whose policy we would accept as soon as that of the note companies we have mentioned, with the exception of the Equitable, which we readily admit is not surpassed either in its ability

or willingness to pay all legitimate claims. But let us mention a few other cash companies—such as the United States Life, the Universal Life, the Widow and Orphans' *Benefit* (?) Life, and the Traveler's Life and Accident. Is it these we are to regard as models, according to Mr. Barnes? or are we to regard them in that light merely because they are imitators of the Mutual Life?

What our opinion of the superintendent's favorite is, our readers have known for years, for it remains unchanged. We have never denied that it has a large pile of money,—though not more in proportion to the claims upon it than many other companies we could mention—really less than several; but we have always maintained that it has very little principle, if any. The difference between it and the other "all-cash" companies we have mentioned is, that they are very nearly as deficient in money as they are in principle; so that they have to make all sorts of shifts to show large "assets." It will be remembered that one of Batterson's items in last year's report was "exchange for equipment," or some such imaginary contrivance; but the same gentleman has some items in his last report which are equally spurious. Thus, for example, in a line with "furniture and fixtures" he puts \$12,000—that is, we are to regard this amount as a part of the Traveler's "assets"! Need we say that if the "furniture and fixtures," including the portraits and biographies of the worthy president, were sold to-morrow to the highest bidder they would not bring \$2,000—scarcely \$1,000—let alone \$12,000: perhaps not more than the amount put to the credit of "internal revenue stamps" in the same report, namely, \$242.58. Still, we have no doubt that the furniture and fixture item makes as near an approximation to the truth as many other things set down as "assets" in the same document.

Another of the cash companies has had to retire from Massachusetts on account of its capital being "impaired." Our readers are aware that we had never much confidence in the Universal Life. It will be remembered that it first undertook to insure those laboring under all kinds of diseases, but its enticing offers were not accepted, even by those in the last stages of consumption, except in very few instances. In time, it had to try a new plan; that too, it seems, has failed, notwithstanding the wonders it was to have accomplished, and to which we called due attention. It is certainly no wish of ours that this should be its fate; we only speak of passing events as a journalist and reviewer; as one comparing different systems with each other with the view of showing all whom it may concern, the amount of public confidence to which each is entitled.

Were we only to give expression to our personal feelings there are few whom we should wish better than the secretary of the Universal Life. Most cheerfully do we admit that there are not many in the profession who understand life insurance better than Mr. Bewley, and that still fewer possess more general intelligence. But it is not those who have most

knowledge and talent, but those who have most money, that exercise most control in a certain class of insurance offices. One possessing \$5,000 has five times more power, of a certain kind, than one who has only \$1,000, though the latter possess ten times as much of the power that comes from knowledge.

The Universal may still continue to live on for years, but, except its secretary is much better aided than he has yet been, it will never justify its title. At all events we have nothing further to do with it than to present it as a specimen of an "all cash" company.

Nor can much better be said of the Widows' and Orphans', which Mr. Barnes himself has found it incumbent on him to censure for reporting fictitious assets. "It was stated," he says, "in the last report, that the item of commuted commissions constituted an asset of a questionable or *fictitious* character," &c. On this he makes the following comment:—

"Notwithstanding these views thus expressed the following Companies have made the same returns this year, as follows:—

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| North America, Agents' annuities.....           | \$127,564 98 |
| Washington, commuted commissions .....          | 25,000 00    |
| Widows' and Orphans', commuted commissions..... | 21,800 00    |
| World, commutation of Agents' commissions.....  | 5,970 47     |

Under our statute no such investments are recognized or allowed."

Now our readers may remember that there is not one of these four companies which we have not criticised in this journal for similar practices; nor is there one of them whose capital is not marked "impaired" in the report of the Massachusetts commissioner now before us. But we have to do at present only with the "all cash" companies, and be it remembered that Mr. Raymond, president of the Widows' and Orphans', is a pupil of Mr. Winston, the great model of our superintendent.

As for the United States Life, the last of the specimens we shall give for the present, our readers know it of old. A precious model, truly! they will say. But to this they may add, that after all there is a peculiar fitness in designating such companies "all cash" companies, since they would convert even the broomstick into cash, and report it as an asset for about twenty times its value. It is the habit at the present day to regard the alchemists of old as either fools or knaves, for having pretended to transmute the baser metals into gold in their crucibles; while our assurance alchemists pretend to transmute their worn, dirty carpets and lame chairs—many articles that have no existence—without any crucible—if not into gold, at least, into money!

But even the particular favorite, and chief model of our superintendent, is admitted to indulge, occasionally, in those little legerdemain tricks.

"One Company, the Mutual Life, has in its own annual Report to policy holders (made January 31st, 1868) included this item as an Asset to be written off and cancelled in the space of three years; in the annual Statement to this Department no such item appears in its Assets."—*Ins. Supt. Ninth Ann. Report*, p. lvii.



This may be excused, of course. Accordingly, the comment of Mr. Barnes is exceedingly mild. "This," he says, "is a much less objectionable course, *as the fiction disappears from the books in three years*," (p. lvii). One would think that if a fiction ever does harm it would be likely to do at least a part of it in three years. But another fiction gets on the books then; most probably the fiction is multiplied, and it is presented to the policy holders as no fiction, but a veritable "asset" of the great Mutual Life!

In the same passage from which the above extract is taken, Mr. Barnes admits: "Neither does the item appear in *any manner as an asset* in the last annual statement of the Manhattan." That is, the Manhattan Life, seeing that so many other companies used the item alluded to as an asset, very naturally thought it had a right to do the same; but as soon as it is objected to by the superintendent it is at once discarded by the Manhattan. The Mutual Life omits it in its statement to the superintendent, *but makes full use of it in its statement to its policy holders*. Here we have, on Mr. Barnes' own showing, the difference between a note company and an "all cash" company.

Now let us view the matter, for a moment, in another light. It will be admitted that the manner in which companies meet the legitimate claims upon them is a very good criterion whereby to judge of their worth. In speaking of the life insurance companies of other States, the superintendent recognizes the integrity of the New England Mutual Life, as follows:

"Under the able but extremely conservative guidance of that accomplished jurist, Judge Willard Phillips (to whom the profession are so much indebted for his many learned and comprehensive works on Insurance), the Life Policy was popularized in the offices, counting-rooms, banks, workshops and firesides east of the Hudson; and *no bank-bill or State bond was ever more sacredly regarded than the Policies underwritten by Judge Phillips*. The idea of fraud, deception or overreaching was never associated with the parchment containing his sign-manual. Thus the mere number of policies issued by the New England fails to measure *the extent or usefulness* of his early labors in establishing *this inestimable blessing* on a sound basis in New England heads and hearts."—pp. cxiii.—xiv.

We do not deny one word of this; on the contrary, we cheerfully admit that it is strictly true. Judge Phillips was an exemplary underwriter; but not more so in any respect than his successor. The "sign manual" of Mr. Stevens is as good as ever was affixed to a policy of insurance; and never was the New England more emphatically an "inestimable blessing" than it is at the present moment. Yet the New England is what is called a "note company;" it is not, like the Mutual Life, the Universal, the Travelers', &c., an "all cash" company.

The praise of the superintendent would doubtless be of some value, if he exercised a little discrimination in its use. In other words, if he only praised companies like the New England, his praise would be right enough, though not at all necessary; but he lauds to the skies com-

panies that can scarcely be said to have even commenced business. We need not go beyond the first page of the life Report before us for an example of this :

"The Excelsior, the Standard, and the American Tontine exhibit the signs of a healthy vitality, and are managed by *able and energetic executive officers.*"

Is this puffery or is it not? Only one of these companies is a year old—the oldest was "organized" May, 1867. Another dates only since January, 1868. We should like to know who are "the able and energetic officers?" Is it Mr. Elliott, Mr. Dawes and Mr. Ward? If so, what sort of ableness do they possess? Is it ableness to quack, quack, or ableness to manufacture "assets?" Be this as it may, the capital of one is already branded as "impaired" by the Massachusetts Commissioner.\* Of the Tontine "officers," we know nothing, further than that they have graduated in the Bowery, and will therefore say nothing, until better informed; but the ableness of the Standard and Excelsior people is simply ridiculous.

It seems never to occur to Mr. Barnes, that there may be too many companies at the present ratio of increase, although in the Report before us he announces eleven new companies (p. liii.). Has he never heard of the petroleum companies that multiplied so wonderfully only two or three years ago? companies that used to count their capitals by millions! *Where are those establishments now?*

Can the experience of England in the insurance business teach him no lesson? How many insurance companies have disappeared in that country during the last three years? How many in France and Germany? In speaking of the question relative to funds, as one which "*every policy-holder, and every one solicited to become a policy-holder has a right to ask,*" adding that, "*shrewd men are asking it every day, and not a few,*" the Massachusetts Commissioner very pertinently remarks :

"But almost everybody knows that in England, where the system has had time to show its weak as well as its strong points, neither managers of *high and titled names, and blood removed but a few degrees from royalty,* nor actuaries the most profoundly versed in the mysteries of the science, *have saved scores of life insurance companies from bankruptcy, and thousands of confiding policy-holders from just such cruel disappointment*"—p. xi.

Many a time we have been abused in the grossest manner, both in the insurance journals and in pamphlets got up for the occasion, by companies that are already in the throes of death, for making just such observations as these. We particularly call the attention of our readers to the fact, that the English plan of picking up great names to figure in long lists of "directors" and "trustees," is now being tried on a large scale in this country. It is well known that some good men allow their names to be used in this manner; because, judging others by themselves, they have no suspicion of the motives of those who seek their influence.

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\* Vide p. lxxxvi.

The experience of English writers on the subject is, that it is *much safer and better to protest* established companies, *known to be honest*, than to encourage a horde of speculating concerns. Not that we would make such an absurd statement as that all new companies must be dishonest or faithless; on the contrary, we hold that there are those never thought of yet, which will take rank with the best in the world. What we maintain is, that none should be recommended as possessing "a healthy vitality" without a careful, *searching* examination.

It has been well observed by Coleridge, that "*praises of the unworthy are felt by ardent minds as robberies of the deserving.*" But to no class does this apply so forcibly as to underwriters. It is because good and bad are praised alike—the latter often much more than the former—that so many still regard all underwriters as speculators. We may remark in passing, that the best reply we have seen to those who argue against life insurance on this ground, we have met with in a paper translated from the German, by Dr. Henry Lassing, the accomplished superintendent of agencies of the Knickerbocker Life, and from which we extract the following fragment for its truthfulness and justice:

"You have forgotten the great pioneers of art and science, and the heroes of liberty, who have risked and sacrificed health, wealth, and life, for truth, justice, and the good of mankind. Have not the founders of academies and colleges devoted to learning, art, and science—of medical, moral, and charitable institutions—truly benefited the world? Have they not often given their time, learning, strength, skill, and wealth to these noble projects, without the slightest expectation of gain, or wish for pecuniary recompense? There are men, therefore, who can do good without desiring thereby to fill their pockets. The best achievements are performed, not by selfishness, but by self-sacrifice."

Turning over one page in Mr. Barnes' Report, we find another *morceau* like that about the Excelsior, Standard, &c.

"The registered Policy system, inaugurated by the North America Life Insurance Company, in July, 1866, has been adopted by the Atlantic Mutual of Albany, the Metropolitan and the Globe Mutual of New York, thus making four Companies now transacting a portion of their business on this deposit plan"—p. liii.

A great piece of information, truly; a thing "inaugurated" and "adopted" by such companies must be valuable. Morgan, of the North America is a model underwriter, though he does persist in manufacturing fictitious "assets," and yet cannot prevent his capital from becoming "impaired." He has Mr. Barnes' picture on his policy beside his own; he is also the great talker of the Chamber of Life Insurance, and he is said to excel all his brethren in getting up dinners to do honor to certain functionaries.

Guy R. Phelps is another regular attendant at the "Chamber," who is fond of hearing himself talk, and no one sets higher value on a puff, or is more disgusted with those who refuse to gratify him in that respect. But what higher praise could Mr. Barnes bestow than to compare anybody or anything to his favorite and model? and in the volume before

us, he says: "In the amount and extent of its business, this Company ranks next to the Mutual Life, in this country" (p. cxv). This, of course, is very handsome, but it is not enough. In the same paragraph our superintendent adds: "Dr. Phelps has been the *chief executive officer and manager* of the affairs of this *important corporation* from its organization; and is now its *President*." This is worth at least a basket of the "tomato pills."

Now everybody knows that the officers of the *Ætna Life*, *Phoenix Life*, and *Charter Oak Life*, are very different in their ideas of justice, decency, and fair-dealing from those of the *Connecticut Mutual*. We do not go beyond Hartford to test the soundness, or rather the unsoundness, of the distinction which our superintendent would confer on the *Connecticut Mutual*. If we compared New York companies to "this important corporation," it might seem that we were actuated by local prejudices, whereas the truth is, that there are three life companies in Hartford in whose policies we have as much faith as in those of any other institutions in the world. In speaking of the "all cash" companies, we remarked that there is no better criterion whereby to judge of the worth of an insurance company than the willingness with which it pays those who have claims upon it. We will now enable our readers to judge the *Connecticut Mutual* by this test, as compared with three other Hartford companies, furnishing data from one of Mr. Barnes' own tables. Thus we extract as much of Table XIII. as shows what amount of claims has been "resisted" by each of the four companies mentioned, during the past two years:

| NAME OF COMPANY.                | YEAR. | LOSSES RESISTED. |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| <i>Ætna Life</i> .....          | 1866  | .....            |
| ".....                          | 1867  | .....            |
| <i>Charter Oak</i> .....        | 1866  | .....            |
| ".....                          | 1867  | .....            |
| <i>Phoenix Mutual</i> .....     | 1866  | .....            |
| ".....                          | 1867  | .....            |
| <i>Connecticut Mutual</i> ..... | 1866  | \$10,000 00      |
| ".....                          | 1867  | 52,500 00        |

Thus, opposite to each company there is a blank; no loss is resisted until we come to the *Connecticut Mutual*; then we find resistance on a large scale. If we go back a year farther (1865), we shall find that according to the same table, \$18,000 has been "resisted" by the *Connecticut Mutual*.

We are not in the least surprised at this, however, it is just the state of things we had expected before we saw any table. The above record is precisely in accordance with our own experience. We have had dealings with each of the four companies; each paid promptly and courteously all it contracted, until it came to the turn of the *Connecticut Mutual*, which, instead of paying what it agreed to pay, sought to frighten us by threats and insulting language! According to the best legal authority in Connecticut, we could compel the payment of our little affair, but according

to the laws of the State, we should have to deposit an amount equal to the probable costs of a suit, before taking any further proceedings, attend at court we know not how long, &c.; so that at the time we got a decree for the amount due, it would hardly pay for our loss of time alone, not to mention lawyers' fees, costs of court, &c.

We do not entertain the slightest resentment, however; or any stronger or more active feeling than contempt and scorn. We refer to our own case simply by way of illustration, as we would to any other with which we were equally familiar. The best companies have to resist some claims, but the distinction of the Connecticut Mutual is that it resists more than any other company in the United States, or, so far as we are aware, in the world.

We may remark parenthetically, that the Connecticut Mutual and the New York Mutual always remind us by contrast of the New Jersey Mutual Benefit. The two former are constantly abusing each other; when tired of this both attack their New Jersey rival with equal violence; whereas, it is but rarely that the Mutual Benefit deigns to notice the attentions of either. It deems it much wiser, as well as more respectable, to remind the public calmly, without any disparaging statements of others, that in one year (1867) it has paid claims by death to the amount of nearly a million, \$825,419; that it has paid dividends to members to the amount of over \$6,000,000; that its assets amount to \$15,000,000, &c. We are convinced that it could also say, that it makes no contract which it does not honestly fulfil.

It is somewhat singular that the favorites of Mr. Barnes are those who make the largest display of assets, whether "realized" or "unrealized." If he pays a compliment to a company that is not fond of display of any kind, as if his object were to seem impartial and just, he makes it refer to some officer who is no longer connected with it. Of course there are exceptions, such as the North America *et hoc genus omne*.

Sometimes he speaks rather slightly of our very best companies; that is, of companies which slight him in the manner described above. We have richer companies, perhaps, than the Knickerboker Life, but not one that is safer or more substantial—not one conducted with more intelligence or ability. Even in point of riches, four millions and a half (\$4,500,000) is not a small pile. The half million has accumulated within the present year. If we had any just claim on the company we should feel just as sure of our money as if we had deposited it in the National Park Bank, and had it certified by Mr. Worth. As the superintendent seems to have overlooked the recent statistics of the Knickerboker, we beg to remind him of their ratio of increase during the past three years:

|      | New Policies Issued. | Amount Insured. |
|------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1865 | 2,447                | \$6,557,850     |
| 1866 | 5,450                | 17,000,000      |
| 1867 | 10,284               | 31,310,725      |

These figures are expressive enough. It is not long since the assets of the Knickerbocker were small; although the day they were smallest no policy-holder could say but they were sufficient to afford him the full amount of his claim. Indeed, this is one of the principal reasons why they have increased as follows:

|      |   |   |   |           |
|------|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1865 | . | . | . | \$853,709 |
| 1866 | . | . | . | 1,569,929 |
| 1867 | . | . | . | 4,000,571 |

Now, it is a company that makes such progress as this, without any quibbling; that is always ready to pay just claims, and always courteous and agreeable, not only to its policy holders, but to all who have any dealings with it, which we regard as a model; and we are pretty sure that its policy holders view the subject in the same light.

Fortune seems propitious in this particular part of Broadway. The Manhattan Life, nearly opposite the Knickerbocker, is also making rapid strides. The Massachusetts commissioner reports its assets as nearly four million and a half (\$4,305,113), and its surplus fund as over half a million (\$585,270). The National Life (New York), has lately made several heavy payments; but it has plenty of cash left—a larger amount in proportion to the claims upon it than some of its neighbors that boast of their millions. Mr. Barnes reports its assets \$292,388 41, and Mr. Sanford reports its guarantee capital \$154,154. The Security also makes a good figure at home and abroad. Mr. Barnes reports its assets as over a million and a quarter (\$1,286,390 24). Mr. Sanford reports its income for fourteen months, \$1,016,661; and its surplus \$152,532.

We do not altogether like the account Mr. Barnes gives us in Table XIII, of the New York Life; but we have no data that would enable us to prove that he is in error, as we are pretty sure he must be in this case. If not who is to blame? Surely not the president, whom we have compared more than once, in certain particulars, to Franklin the philosopher. Then Mr. Beers has been promoted, and we congratulate him on having attained the vice-president's chair. It cannot be that the gentleman so worthily rewarded has committed the blunder alluded to. We must only wait until we learn; in the mean time we have strong faith that the assets of the New York Life will bear a searching examination.

But Mr. Barnes is not more ingenious in hinting faults on the part of those who do not appreciate him than he is in inventing compliments for those who do. Thus, for instance, in speaking of a concern entitled the Brooklyn Life Insurance Company, he says: "Among the twenty corporators of this company are the *names* of Christian W. Bouck, Henry R. Pierson and Jonathan D. Steele" (p. civ.). These names are, of course, a tower of strength! but it is well to understand that Mr. Bouck is president, and that he values a puff at nearly as high a figure as the "tomato pill" man.

In the same "appreciative" spirit, Mr. Barnes tells us that among the

corporators of the Widows and Orphans' Benefit Life, is the name of Henry A. Smythe. Now the importance we attach to the name of Smythe, our worthy port collector, is that we think it sufficiently accounts for the impairment of the capital of the Widows' and Orphans', to the extent of \$100,318; that is \$318 more than half the whole affair! But we will give one more example of this kind—the case of the Excelsior Life—of which we are told: "Among the corporators are Samuel T. Howard, T. G. Churchill and Elliott T. Shepard" (p. cxi.). Who can doubt the stability of the company after this? Surely the Massachusetts commissioner must be mistaken in announcing that it is already suffering from atrophy of the heart!

*Per contra*, not a word is said under the same head of the names found among the corporators of the Continental Life; but the president of this separated from the North America; and its secretary separated from the politicians. How their company stands to-day, when it is only two years old, is best shown by the following figures:

|                                     |                 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Policies issued to Sept. 1868,..... | 9,054           |
| Amount insured,.....                | \$25,000,000.00 |
| Income, over.....                   | 2,000,000 00    |

This shows remarkable progress, but not more than we confidently predicted in the very first number of our journal issued after the company commenced business. It was not its capital or wealth that inspired us with this faith, but the intelligence, energy, and abilities of its officers.

Another company whose success we predicted on the same grounds, is the Globe Mutual Life. We did so, it will be remembered, while criticising those that commenced at the same time, and whose capitals are now officially reported "impaired." We do not pretend to any peculiar foresight, or prophetic gift in making these statements, but simply to the exercise of our reason and judgment on the results of inquiry and investigation. We give our views of men just as we do of books. If we meet with books that are worthless, we give no opinion of them except they are calculated to do mischief; worthless men we pass by in silence in the same spirit, except we think they are about to do harm. In this case we never shrink from warning those who may become their dupes. Upon the other hand, when we meet with a good, instructive, standard work, we are glad to recommend it. We regarded the president of the Globe Mutual in the light of a book of this character, because we had known him for many years as an underwriter distinguished for his energy and integrity, and as a veteran in the profession; and we gave our impressions of him accordingly. In an interesting pamphlet now before us, we find it amply proved that we were right in this; it is shown from official reports that while other companies, organized at the same time, were diminishing their capital instead of increasing it, the Globe Mutual was

\* Vide Mass. Com'r's Report, p. lxxxviii.

steadily advancing in affording protection and strength to itself and policy holders. The following figures exhibit the ratio of this advancement for the past three years and six months more eloquently than any words we could use :

|                     | NO. POLICIES<br>ISSUED. | AMOUNT INSURED. | ASSETS.      | INCREASE OF AS-<br>SETS OVER PRE-<br>VIOUS YEAR. |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1864 }<br>6 mo. }   | 1041                    | \$3,072,987     | \$214,725.11 | \$114,725.11                                     |
| 1865 }              | 2761                    | 8,025,784       | 469,009.19   | 254,284.01                                       |
| 1866 }              | 8046                    | 7,995,081       | 756,248.62   | 820,239.50                                       |
| 1867 }              | 2491                    | 6,108,891       | 1,171,198.56 | 887,944.94                                       |
| Total Increase..... |                         |                 |              | \$1,171,198.56                                   |
| Add Capital.....    |                         |                 |              | 100,000.00                                       |
|                     |                         |                 |              | \$1,171,198.46                                   |

Glancing at another table we find that of twenty-one life companies none have equalled the Globe in the number of policies they issued in four years. Thus for example while the Mutual Life issued 3,219 policies, the Guardian 2,523, and the Washington 1,427, the Globe issued 10,971—considerably more than the three combined.

But although we take some pride in seeing our predictions fulfilled, we shall never be the less willing to acknowledge that we were mistaken in any particular if we see just cause to do so. To-day we compare the management of the Globe Mutual to that of the Knickerbocker, the New York Mutual, the Astor, or the Phoenix Mutual, because we think it deserves it; to-morrow we would compare it with the management of The Traveller's, the World Mutual, the Widows' and Orphans', &c., if we thought it pursued the same course as they. But to return to the volumes before us:

Upon the whole, we prefer the report of Mr. Barnes with all its faults, to that of any other superintendent or commissioner. If he had to be appointed to office again to-morrow, we would not oppose him in any manner; we would only take the liberty of offering him a little advice. We would hint to him that he ought to leave the business of puffing insurers who need to be insured themselves, to "the Insurance press"—at least, not to praise companies for their "vitality" that are dying of consumption; and not to use more than one capital letter for every twenty or thirty he does now.

The tables of Mr. Barnes are much more interesting as well as more valuable than those of Mr. Sanford, but the latter understands the difference between the "all cash" system and the note system better than the former. We entirely agree with the Massachusetts commissioner that the notes of policy holders are "*a perfectly safe investment and a perfectly good asset for the purposes of the company.*"

Other views are put forward by Mr. Sanford, which are equally sound and worthy of attention; at the same time his report is by no means faultless. Whom did he expect to benefit, for example, by the two full



pages (vi. and vii.) which he devotes to the retirement of the Universal Life? Is not the whole affair very much like what is vulgarly called a "white-washing operation"—rather slovenly white-washing, too?

Batterson's two concerns receive a rub of the same brush; and we suspect they stand in need of it quite as much as the Universal Life. Mr. Sanford tells us that there were once eleven Accident companies doing business in Massachusetts, but now there are only two. Four died of inanition; the stern integrity of the commissioner forced another (The Provident Life and Investment Company, Chicago) to retire from the State because it would not parade all its assets at Boston; three others have transformed themselves into purely life companies, &c.; so that only two remain now, namely the Traveller's and Railway Passenger's.\*

Some men retire from business altogether rather than indulge in the manufacture of fictitious assets; others, having rather a liking for that sort of manipulation, continue to carry on their traffic, picking up as much money as they can and paying as little as they can. Which are entitled to most credit? In the opinion of Mr. Sanford, "No less credit is due to *the company or companies* that have endured from the first to the present time" (p. cxvii.). Batterson, be it remembered, is the "company or companies," "the original Jacobs," that has *endured* in this laudable manner; and although we should prefer to see him pay his debts first, we should not have the least objection to his receiving a medal of India rubber from all the railroad presidents of the United States, who have excluded his agents from their cars as moral and physical nuisances.

But we never need go beyond Hartford for a counterpoise against those who would palm off wooden nutmegs for the real fruit. We have indicated the *Ætna* for this purpose, in giving our views of "resisted losses." With equal faith we now indicate the Phoenix Mutual Life and Charter Oak Life as abundantly strong to afford protection against all other defective concerns of the same city. In proof of this, we need only refer to the official reports of New York and Massachusetts. Thus one shows that the total assets of the Phoenix amount to \$2,184,344 29; † the other tells us that it has a surplus for its policy holders of nearly half a million (\$488,226).‡ Sanford reports that the Charter Oak has an income of \$2,375,694, and a clear surplus over its capital of \$408,280. § These last figures will be the better understood by the general reader, when it is remembered that in the same column in which they stand with the sign *plus*, + prefixed to them, the Connecticut General is distinguished by a *minus* — mark as follows: — 27,899. That is, the one has so much more than its capital, the other so much less. The difference will

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\* Mr. Sanford ought in common justice to have remarked that the Provident Life and Investment has, after all, proved a much more honest company than those which he was kind enough to allow to remain; but this would perhaps be a little too cosmopolitan for him. Be this as it may, there is little fear of the Chicago company as long as it has so prudent and skilful an engineer as Mr. Charles Holland to guide it.

† Barnes, p. lxxvii.

‡ Sanford, p. lxxxvii.

§ *Id.*

perhaps be still more obvious if it be remembered that the Connecticut General is an off-shoot of the Connecticut Mutual, and that Guy R. Phelps is the actuary of the former, as well as the president of the latter.

But the Chamber of Life Insurance will settle all difficulties in due time; that is, after about two thirds of its very small number of members are weeded out. Even then, it will require strong fumigation. But as long as persons like Morgan, Phelps and Eadie, are its high priests, instead of commanding respect, or inspiring confidence anywhere, contempt, scorn and ridicule will be the chief fruits of its labors. This is no new prediction on our part, but the literal fulfilment of one which we made nearly two years ago—the very first time that Morgan took the chair which Mr. Stevens declined to occupy. We have since steadily maintained that such silly twaddle, as invariably emanates from the “Chamber,” could lead to nothing but disgrace and failure. Accordingly, one of the very small minority, endowed with common sense, who occasionally attend it, but who should have followed the example of the president of the New England Mutual, in shunning it as a plague spot—though offered its highest honors—is reported as having spoken as follows, at the last meeting held at Saratoga, and attended by less than a dozen persons, including high-priests, doorkeepers, assurance editors, &c. :

“MR. FREEMAN stated his belief that the success or failure of this Chamber depended on action to-day. If there were none *it must be regarded a failure.*”

If any “action” took place further than that of eating and drinking, and of mutilating the English language, we have heard nothing of it. The best actions for those twaddlers and mountebanks, would have been to go home and pay their debts, and try to get new recommendations from Barnes, the fourth-rate bank cashiers of Troy, the receivers of broken-down companies, &c., &c., certifying that they are honest men, and not charlatans, depending for success on the credulity of the public!

We find that we shall have to defer our notes of Fire and Marine insurance until our next number; we trust we shall be the more readily excused for this, from the fact that we devoted more attention to those departments in our last, than to Life insurance.

We may remark briefly, that the relative conditions of the good, bad, and indifferent have not altered much since our June issue. If the incendiaries will only keep quiet, even those in the most feeble state may be expected to be “smart” again, at least in appearance, by spring next. Then Barnes and Sanford may be ready to give them a recommendation to serve them as a doctor’s certificate does the soldier who wants to shoulder his musket for the protection of his country, when there seems to be no danger of war.

As another Washington Insurance Co. is mentioned above, in one of our extracts from Barnes’ Report, as among the “impaired,” it may be proper to mention in passing, that it is *not* the Washington Fire which

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issues its mantles of protection from the corner of Broadway and Maiden Lane, as all our readers may not be aware of its strength and stability.

This reminds us that some of our readers have supposed we alluded to the *Ætna* of this city in speaking of the solidity of a Fire company of that name. Hitherto we thought it needless to explain that we meant the *Ætna* of Hartford; but it seems that very intelligent persons will sometimes fail to perceive the most obvious facts. The New York *Ætna* may be a very safe concern; but we should much rather entrust our house to the care of its Hartford namesake; or that of the Washington, or Security.

The president of the Home Fire wishes very much that he could withdraw his famous letter to the Jews, and bury it in the Stygian lake. When he wrote it he forgot that there are such Israelites in New York as the Solomons; but it was not the first blunder Mr. Martin committed. What grieves him most is to see so many of his best customers giving their fat annual checks to the Security, Hope, and Washington—in- stead of handing them over to the Home, as formerly. Well, this is rather trying, we must confess; but those who depend on the public for support ought not to make an onslaught on any nationality, or set as such. Those who give vent to their little prejudices in this way must expect to suffer for it sooner or later. There are examples enough of this, but one will suffice; has not the *Sun* been metamorphosed into a *moon*. But, in the case of underwriters, as well as others, much more depends on education than is generally supposed.

Thus, for example, the tutor of Elwood Walter was the late Joseph Walker, than whom a more upright man never affixed his signature to a policy of insurance. It was Mr. Walker who founded the Mercantile Mutual, and vouched for its stability on Mr. Walter's being placed at its head. Walker, who was a strict Quaker, did not love any one the less for his creed, or nationality; nor did he prosper the less through life for making no other distinction between Jew and Gentile than that which he found individuals to make for themselves by their conduct.

# INDEX

TO THE

## SEVENTEENTH VOLUME

OF THE

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